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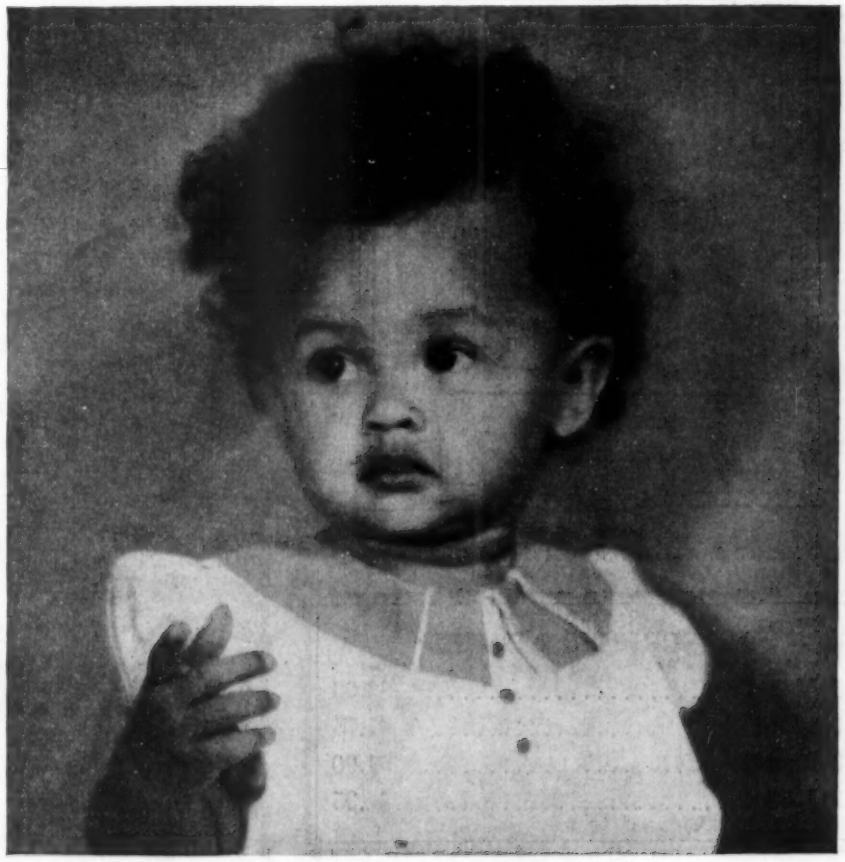

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(For her, room at the inn?—See page 359)

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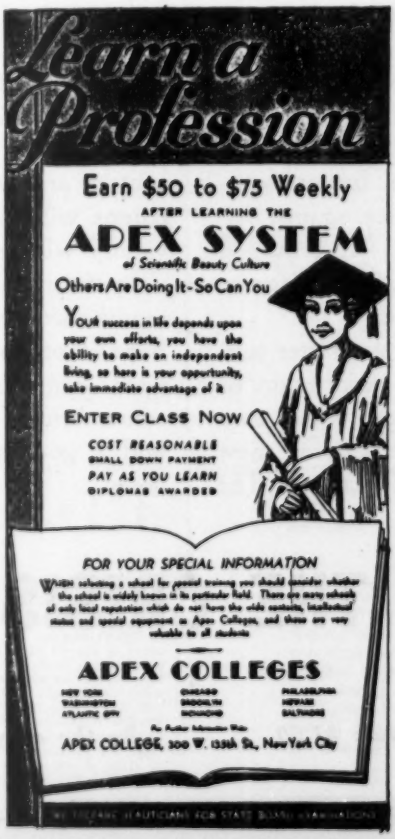
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It began with twenty small pages and in the next twenty-five years carried the news of the oppression and achievement of dark peoples to the four corners of the earth. It became the forum from which DuBois and others lashed out at injustice; and through its pages the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent its message and spread itself over the land.

THE CRISIS became the spearhead of the Twentieth Century movement to make the Emancipation Proclamation real. It fired the efforts for free education, for opportunity, for independence in politics, against discrimination and segregation. It scourged the conscience of the world on the disgrace of lynching and mob violence.

Today, at the end of its first quarter century, THE CRISIS and the association of which it is the official organ stand confronted with new tasks demanding new methods and new vigor of action. The battle is only just begun. In a sense the first twenty-five years have served merely to enable colored Americans to gain a foothold from which the intricate patterns of the real battle lines may be studied and the attacks launched effectively.

Now, more than ever, cooperation and support—both material and spiritual—are needed. Some of the campaigns from this point forward may not be as spectacular and dramatic as those from the dark days of 1910 through the post-war period, but they will be more important. Now is the time for intensive organization, careful strategy, and organized, cooperative attack upon the problems ahead.

All this costs money. A crusading magazine, a mouthpiece for a movement, costs money. The problems of the next quarter century are more difficult; the costs of campaigns will be greater, but the rewards of victory will be greater.

In the month of December, send a silver anniversary contribution to THE CRISIS. Send it off into its 26th year—to the new wars—with fresh ammunition. Give it a remembrance for 25 years of valiant fighting and a good wish for the engagements to come.

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ROY WILKINS, Managing Editor
ADVISORY BOARD
J. E. Spingarn *Dr. Louis T. Wright* *James Weldon Johnson* *Lewis Gannett* *Walter White*

Volume 42, No. 12 *Whole No. 300*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

The contents of THE CRISIS *are copyrighted.*

NEXT MONTH

"Can the States Stop Lynching?," an examination of the noble pronouncement of southern senators in the last congress and of the lynching record of 1935.

•

A review of the new book, "The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy."

•

Some views on Negroes and crime in New York state by the Honorable Edward P. Mulrooney, former Commissioner of Police of the City of New York.

•

"Texas Holiday," an article by a white southerner on the double lynching at Columbus, Tex., November 12.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Dorothy Detzer is the executive secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

•

Carol B. Cotton is a member of the faculty of Barber-Scotia College in North Carolina.

•

Charles H. Houston is special counsel for the N.A.A.C.P. in charge of a legal campaign against educational inequalities.

•

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•

Ione Vesta Peak is a school teacher in Topeka, Kan.

•

Earl Browder is general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States.

•

Robert C. Francis wrote his doctor of philosophy thesis on labor conditions on the San Francisco water front.

THE COVER

The chief purpose of THE CRISIS and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is to see that colored children shall not be told always, everywhere, that there is no room at the inn. You can help this work—in fact you could give no greater Christmas gift than some aid to the cause dedicated to making this world better for children like the charming youngster on the cover.

IS THIS THE SYMBOL OF THE LONE STAR STATE?

Courtesy Milwaukee *Journal*

Ethiopia at Geneva

By Dorothy Detzer

WHENEVER I have had the good fortune to be in Geneva at the time of the Assembly of the League of Nations, I have found myself stirred by conflicting emotions. When one looks down upon the Assembly of the League from the high galleries, it is, so to speak, like looking down upon the world in one room. Of course, that is not quite accurate, as such "civilized" countries as Japan, Germany, and the United States are absent; and, besides, there are no women delegates. It is still a man's world, and a white man's world, for representatives of the colored peoples are almost as rare as the women delegates.

But this time, Geneva seemed to present a definite step forward. Not only would it have been impossible in the 19th century to have watched the nations of the world come to the defense of a country like Ethiopia, but it would almost have been impossible five years ago. It is something new, too, when spontaneous, moral indignation is expressed against a country as it was this summer against Italy.

I shall never forget the first meeting of the Council. It was early evening when the meeting was called and the Council room was packed to overflowing. The Chairman of the Council, an Argentine, after calling the meeting to order, and stating that the first question on the agenda was the unfortunate dispute between Italy and Ethiopia, said: "I call to the Council table, the representative of Ethiopia." A small, black man with rather ill-fitting clothes walked across the room and took his place at the end of the U-shaped table. Later, I was to meet him several times, and I have rarely known a person whose face expressed so much grief and suffering.

Tecle Hawariate, a distinguished gentleman with quiet, courtly, European manners, seated himself at the Council table, and, as he did so, the Italian representative leapt to his feet and left the room. Then, when Hawariate had finished, Baron Aloisi returned to launch his bitter and vitriolic, attack against Ethiopia. The unfairness of it stirred everyone, and when he had stopped speaking, the Chairman called for the adjournment of the Council. The delegates and members of the press thronged out into the press corridor, where many people were surrounding the Ethiopian representative, and where there was an excited, friendly atmosphere. But suddenly, in the doorway, appeared Baron Aloisi, and it was as though an "untouchable" had come into the room. The delegates and the press drew aside, and the Baron walked down the long corridor and out into the street, the loneliest figure I have ever seen.

This scene, in itself, seemed almost a justification for the League of Nations, but having said that, one cannot help looking behind the outer curtain of events. The Council appointed a Committee of Five to bring in recommendations for dealing with the dispute. Senor Madariaga of Spain was made Chairman of this Committee. I remember the first time I ever met Senor Madariaga. He was giving a series of lectures in Geneva in 1926 to a group of Americans, and he was indignant over American policy in Latin America. He had pointed out that the greatest Spanish poet of our time was a Nicaraguan; and he was also endeavoring to prove that the so-called backward nations like Haiti were not necessarily inferior—that nations, too, had their "nursery days," and that superiority did not necessarily lie in the development of science or machinery. And then, I remember him saying: "How dare a great nation disturb the rhyme of peoples." But the report of the Committee of Five, when it was given to the Council of the League by Senor Madariaga, seemed also to have forgotten "the rhyme of peoples."

The Committee recommended that Ethiopia should be "partitioned," not geographically, but functionally, and though the report provided for "League advisors," it was carefully understood which countries would furnish "advisors." The report provided for the reorganization of Ethiopia under four heads: (1) Police and gendarmerie, (2) Economic development, (3) Finance, and (4) other public services. There were to be special police for those parts of Ethiopia where Europeans lived—a kind of extraterritoriality; and then all the Ethiopians were to be disarmed, in spite of the condition of the country which makes it almost necessary for the natives, in certain sections, to be armed against wild animals. The army was to remain, like that of Egypt's, "useless except to show how independent they are." Finally, when police problems were settled, imperialism was free to drive ahead with "civilization."

Foreigners were to be allowed to participate in "land tenure, mining, industrial and commercial activities," etc. They were to take care of the assessment and collection of taxes, and the mixed courts were to be reorganized. Mr. Madariaga had indeed forgotten the "rhyme of peoples;" but Spain is a Mediterranean country, and it is not so far across that little sea from Italy.

Fortunately, the report was not accepted, because such "Christian" nations as Turkey and Russia refused to accept it, and it is a rule of the Council that a report must be unanimous.

When the Assembly met, one was conscious, more than ever, of the struggle between rival imperialisms. Though the speech of Sir Samuel Hoare dripped with sincerity, one could not help but be amused, as he said that Great Britain was only interested in the independence of small nations," to see the Irish delegates nudge each other. And though it is true that Sir Samuel Hoare gave what was probably the most brilliant and effective peace speech that was ever made before an Assembly of the League, one could not forget that the headwaters of the Nile have their source in Ethiopia and are essential for the cotton lands of the Soudan. Anyone who knows his geography knows that British imperialism could not allow Italian imperialism to menace her trade routes to the East. It must also have been rather painful to the British Foreign Office that "trouble" should have broken out on the northwest frontier of India just at this time. When I sailed from England on October 2, the headlines of the British press were full of casualty lists of British dead—as a result of the dandy little war that Great Britain was carrying on on her own against a country as independent as Ethiopia.

The land of the Mohmands lies between Afghanistan and northwest India. Its chief has something of the same authority as the Ethiopian emperor. One cannot idealize either of them. Both are tribal dictators; both live in great luxury; both attach religious authority to their temporal power; and both fiercely resent subjugation by imperialist governments. England had sent 15,000 troops into this independent country for practically the same reason that Italy gave for attacking Ethiopia. The boundary had never been properly established, and there were "incidents." But the immediate reason was that the tribal chief of the Mohmands was har-

(*Continued on page 372*)

Echo of the Distant Drum

By Carol B. Cotton

A Christmas story that will bring a lump into your throat

IT was the day before Christmas. Becky tucked her feet up in the hem of her flannel nightie and bounced up and down in bed. She slid one warm hand up from under the blankets and touched the tip of her nose. Grandma said Becky's nose was cold, like a puppy's, every morning. It must be time for Grandma to come and call "Double up, little sister!" That was the way Grandma had called Mother when she was six-going-on-seven. Grandma was always talking to Becky about when Mother was six-going-on-seven, and everything that Mother did then, Becky must do now. Some of the things were fun; coloring the dresses of the ladies in the *Godey* books, and making little paper boats for Grandma to put honey-caramels in, and popping corn in the wire popper. But Mother never had any roller skates, nor any paper dolls, nor . . . oh joy . . . any Sunday School s'tif'cate. Becky wasn't exactly sure what a s'tif'cate was, but Marjorie and Priscilla and Walter and a little fat girl named Mary Sue . . . and Becky . . . were going to get one today. And Becky was going to send hers to Mother for a Christmas-birthday present. Mother never had a Christmas-birthday present like that before, she'd reck. . . think. (Think, Becky, try hard. *Don't* say "reckon." If you can't speak correctly and say I suppose or I think for pity's sake don't say Ah reckon. She could hear Grandma saying that now).

Even Grandma never had a Sunday School s'tif'cate, nor Grandpa. He said they would frame Becky's and hang it up beside Mother's college diploma in the little red room upstairs where Becky lived in summer, that used to be Mother's room. But Becky knew he was only teasing. That was to be Mother's very own Christmas-birthday present.

Grandpa was in the sitting room now, whistling while he made the fire in the big fireplace. There were only heavy curtains between the sitting room and the room where Becky slept in the winter, down near the fire so she wouldn't get too cold. She could hear Grandpa's chair creak as it was moved around to the wood-box. "Sweet dreams, Grandpa!" she called. "Please whistle Humpty-Dumpty!"

"Sweet dreams, Sunny," Grandpa said, just like always. That was funny. Grandpa called Mother Sunshine because she was always laughing and singing, and he said Becky was Little Sunny, like the little girl in the red book over in the tall bookcases across from Becky's bed. Next to it was the Mother Goose that had Merry Christmas and Happy Birthday to Rebekah written in it. That had puzzled Becky until they told her Mother's name . . *Mother's* . . was Rebekah too! Daddy always called her Bee . . . But Grandpa was whistling Humpty-Dumpty . . . a tune he had helped Becky pick out on the square piano in the parlor before it got too cold to go in there. Becky bounced in time to Grandpa's whistle . . . Humpty-Dumpty *sat* on a wall; Humpty-Dumpty *had* a great fall; all the King's horses and *all* the King's men never could put him *together* again . . . there was a picture of poor Humpty, fat and smooth, sitting on his wall with his legs crossed, and then another of him, with a big crack in his face, and his legs all twisted, on the ground . . . Never could put him together again . . .

SHE was walking in time to the same whistle on her way to Sunday School. Grandma had made her put on lots of clothes, because it was so very cold. She had Grandma's stockings on over her shoes, which she must take off as soon as she got to Sunday School, so her feet wouldn't get wet. She walked as fast as she could, but the snow was thick and slippery, and she wasn't used to snow yet. Once two boys ran past her, on the bridge over Plum Creek, and pushed her down, right across from where all the King's horses stayed. In the summer you could see them standing in their stalls, or waiting in the little yard next door to get some new shoes, but today the big doors were shut tight. Becky wondered if the horses would kneel and pray to the Little Lord Jesus tonight, like the animals in one of Mother's books. All the animals must kneel on the night before Christmas. That was the night that Santa Claus came, too. Becky stopped to look in the windows of Haylor's Furniture Co., at the doll bed with a real mattress and two real pillows. She had begged Grandma to let her hem some sheets and pillow cases for the bed *if* Santa-Claus should happen to bring it, and Grandma had told her she could, if she would hem Daddy's Christmas handkerchief very carefully. Becky rubbed her nose up and down on the cold window pane. Daddy's handkerchief had been hemmed and mailed to him. But Mother was to get the s'tif'cate, and Grandpa had bought a special-delivery stamp so Becky could send it that very day. Walter said it would have her name on it, and a big blue seal, and maybe a tassel, like the cradle-roll s'tif'cate. Walter knew everything because his papa owned a store, and Walter could have all the candy he wanted free. She began running, slipping over the snow, at the thought of the blue seal and the tassel, maybe. That was all they had talked about in Sunday School. . .the birthday of the Little Lord Jesus and the s'tif'cates. Mother had the same birthday the Little Lord Jesus had, so she must have the s'tif'cate too. . . . The children were to be promoted from the Primaries into the Children's. The Primaries was very nice, with a soft carpet and little red chairs, but Walter and Marjorie and Priscilla wanted to go into the Children's, so Becky did too. She never saw them except in Sunday School, except when Walter came to his papa's store, next door to Becky. But she thought Marjorie's long brown curls were the prettiest things in the world, and Priscilla had a fur muff that was soft as soft. Last Sunday the teacher had taken them up into the church and made them stand up nice and tall on the platform to sing, Away in a Manger and Silent Night, Holy Night. Becky and Walter stood in the very back because they were so tall. Then the teacher said "When you come down, come past this little table and get your certificates, and then next year, in the nice new year, you will go in the Children's Room for your lessons."

The church was warm all over, not just near the fire, like at Grandma's. Becky hurried past the big doors that led into where the man preached, and where she waited for Grandma every Sunday after Sunday School. She went downstairs quickly. She had a new dress to get her s'tif'cate in. It was blue, with what Grandma said were red pipings, and it had red and silver buttons. And Grandma had tied a red ribbon at the top of her head, and another at the end of her braid. Becky hung her coat and other wraps up carefully, put her mittens in her sleeve, and sat down to take off Grandma's stockings.

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Marjorie had blue ribbons on her curls. Priscilla had a big white bow on her yellow bob. Walter had his red hair slicked down tight. Mary Sue hadn't come in yet. The teacher said they must all sit quietly until it was time to go upstairs. Becky could hardly breathe. Then she thought of something terrible. Suppose they spelled her name wrong! Then Mother wouldn't know it was truly her own s'tif'cate, because Becky's name was spelled a particular way. She went up to the teacher and waited. The teacher smelled like Mother's garden, back home, where it was never cold enough to snow. She smiled at Becky. "What is it, dear," she said.

"Did they spell my name right on my s'tif'cate?" Becky asked, very low. The children laughed at the way Becky said things, sometimes.

"Why, Rebekah! Did you think. . . come here, dear." The teacher took Becky's hand, and led her over to the windows. Jack Frost had drawn ferns and trees all over them so that you couldn't see outside. Inside there was a real fern, green, but just like the white ones that Jack Frost had drawn. Becky felt trembly inside like she did the day they told her Mother must go away to the hospital for a year, or maybe two years, and Becky must live with Grandma for a while. She looked hard at the ferns. . . . white ones, green one. Green one, white ones.

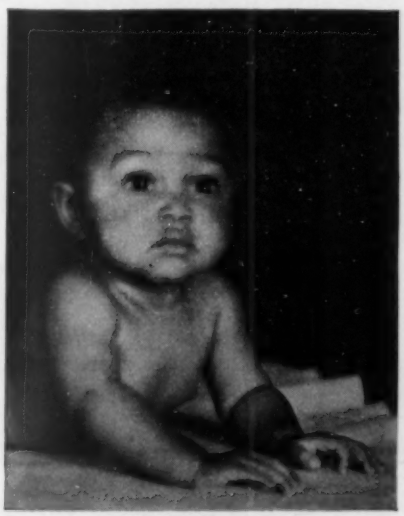
"You see, Rebekah, you haven't been here but a few months. Marjorie and Priscilla and Walter and Mary Sue have been in this church since they were babies on the Cradle Roll. And you don't really live here, do you? You're just visiting your grandmother, aren't you?"

Becky nodded. The trembly feeling wouldn't let her talk.

"Well, we can't give you a certificate. You can go on in the other class with the rest, because you're quite a big girl, but since you're not really a member. . . ."

Becky turned away. It had been bad enough to go to school to Grandma, with a little green table and a little chair, instead of to the big brick school house on Prospect Street. And now. . . . the new blue dress was scratchy. The red ribbon was tied too tight—it hurt. That was why she was crying. Daddy said no Brooks would ever cry. But she wasn't really crying. The ribbon was tied too tight, and forced the tears out of her eyes. . . .

AREN'T they goin' to give you a s'tif'cate?" That was Walter, whispering so the teacher wouldn't hear him. "No." "Well, it's because you're a nigger," he said. Becky looked at him, in wonder. "What's a nigger?" But Walter just laughed. Becky could hear the tump-tump-tumpety of the organ upstairs. Down here it sounded just like a drum. "You're a nigger too," she told Walter. "No, I'm not. I'm not, and Marjorie's not, and Priscilla, and nobody is but you . . y-o-u-, that's who!" Then Walter ran to get in line. Upstairs the organ was beginning to play Away in a Manger. Becky went over to the hooks and got her things. The cattle are lowing . . . the baby awakes . . but Little Lord Jesus no crying he makes. . . She put on her sweater, then her muffler, then her coat. She buttoned it high and tight, and pulled her hat down over the red ribbon. Grandma had put it on carefully, so the ribbon wouldn't wrinkle. She pulled on her mittens before she thought of Grandma's stockings. She'd better not leave them. She rolled them up in a tight ball and held them in her hand. Upstairs, as she crept past the big doors, she could hear the children singing Silent Night, Holy Night. Soon they would come down to get their s'tif'cates. She wouldn't get one. Walter said, because she was a nigger. The teacher said, because she was living with Grandma. Did it make you a nigger to live with Grandma? Then Grandpa must be one, too. Maybe that was why Mother never got a s'tif'cate, or Grandpa. Now Mother wouldn't get any Christmas-birthday present from Becky. Maybe she, Becky, wouldn't get anything . . . did Santa Claus come to niggers? She thought he had come last year, at home, but then when she was at home, she wasn't a nigger. Nobody had ever called her one, anyway. She stopped at Haylor's Furniture Co. to look at the bed just once more. Then she cried, hard. She couldn't help it. The bed looked so lonesome. And Mother . . . what could she give Mother? Mother didn't want books, she had plenty. She might . . oh, she could send Mother her skates. They were in a box in the little red room that used to be Mother's, and where Mother was it was warm. There wasn't any snow. So Mother could skate, maybe. Becky dug her heel in the hard top of the snow until it broke. Then she dug out some of the soft snow underneath and washed her face. She dried it on Grandma's stockings and went on.



Elsie Nozipo Xuma,
Johannesburg, South Africa

At home, Grandma scolded because Becky had left Sunday School. She asked Becky questions. Why did she come back? Why didn't she have her certificate? Nonsense, she said, when Becky told her what Walter said. Then she said, "What did you say, Rebekah?" Becky told her again what Walter said. Grandma's face got mad. "Never say that word again as long as you live, Rebekah Brooks. Do you understand me?"

Grandma went out, walking angrily. Becky crawled up on the arm of Grandpa's chair. It was nice and wide, for Grandpa kept all his small tools in the arms of his chair. "Grandpa. . . what's a. .you know, what Walter called me?"

Grandpa wasn't like Grandma. He never asked questions, and he always answered them. But this time he was still so long Becky thought he hadn't heard. She must say it. . just once more.

"What's a . . nigger . . grandpa?"

Grandpa's face was sad. "Nothing, Sunny, dear, . . just something that is a part of some people's imaginations. . ." Then he looked down at Becky, and put his arm around her, tight. "Just a sort of Humpty-Dumpty idea that got pushed off its wall and is pretty badly smashed."

Becky thought she understood. Humpty-Dumpty was fat. So was she. So was Santa Claus. So Humpty Dumpty was one too! Was. . .

It was warm in the sitting room. Becky put her head on Grandpa's shoulder and snuggled close. Grandpa, is Santa Claus one, too, maybe?"

"Maybe, Sunny."

"And Little Lord Jesus . . . . maybe?"

"A good many people treated him like one, Sunny."

"Are you one, Grandpa . . . are you, too?"

"So I've been told, Sunny . . and your Daddy, and your Mother."

"Why, then, I don't mind, not a bit!" She slid her arm around Grandpa's neck, under his collar. She could feel herself going all limp, close against Grandpa. "In fact, I b'lieve I'm a little bit glad."

And, contented, Becky went to sleep.

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Cracking Closed University Doors

By Charles H. Houston

This second article on educational inequalities by Mr. Houston tells of the legal assault upon the tax-supported state universities which are denying Negroes the professional and graduate study offered to whites at state expense

EVER since July 28, 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States has been supposed to guarantee Negroes the equal protection of the laws; but from the time that President Hayes recalled the Federal troops from South Carolina there have been no known Negroes in state universities in the deep South. Negroes attended the school of law of the University of Maryland in 1890, but the university officials forced their withdrawal soon afterward, and no known Negro was admitted as a student in the University of Maryland from that time until September 25, 1935, when Donald Gaines Murray matriculated in the school of law pursuant to a writ of mandamus granted by the Baltimore City court three months previous.

Negroes pay taxes at exactly the same rate as white citizens. They have to pay taxes to build and maintain state universities which they cannot attend. Yet no formal court challenge was hurled at the policy of southern states excluding them from the state universities until the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People backed the suit of Thomas Hocutt of Durham in 1933 for admission to the college of pharmacy of the University of North Carolina. Hocutt lost his suit in the trial court, and certain technicalities prevented the case from being a good case for an appeal. Matters remained in status quo until 1935 when Donald Gaines Murray of Baltimore applied for admission to the school of law of the University of Maryland.

The registrar and the president denied his application. Murray appealed to the board of regents of the university to exhaust his possibilities of relief within the university before taking his case to the courts. The board of regents ratified the action of the president. Murray went to court, with counsel furnished by the N.A.A.C.P., for a writ of mandamus to compel the university to admit him.

Nothing was said in Murray's petition about his being a Negro. From the standpoint of the N.A.A.C.P. the fact of Murray's color was immaterial since he was seeking admission to a state university under public control and supported in part by public tax money. The petition grounded itself flatly on the fact that Murray was qualified in all respects to enter the school of law, that he was a citizen of Maryland, and had been arbitrarily refused admission to the university. The university answered through the attorney general of the state and said it had excluded Murray because he was a Negro. It is interesting that both in the Hocutt case in North Carolina and the Murray case in Maryland, the attorneys general appeared to defend the policy of exclusion. (Negro tax payers helping to pay the salaries of public officers who use their offices to deprive them of their rights.)

Scholarship Funds Inadequate

The University of Maryland attempted to show that the state of Maryland was providing its Negro citizens adequate education on the primary and secondary levels; but the trial court reminded the assistant attorney general that nobody was complaining about the elementary and secondary schools, and suggested that he confine himself to the question of the facilities which Maryland afforded its Negro citizens to obtain a legal education.

The assistant attorney general then asserted that in 1935 the state had passed an out-of-state scholarship act for the professional education of Maryland Negroes in institutions outside the state. But an examination of that act disclosed

(*Continued on page* 370)

Afro Photo

Donald Gaines Murray (right) leaving the University of Maryland law school with his attorney, Thurgood Marshall, after being duly registered and enrolled on the first day of the term

Greetings From a Founder

By Oswald Garrison Villard

Mr. Villard was one of the signers of the call which was sent out in 1909 to persons interested in forming an organization for the defense and advancement of colored people. Those who answered the call formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Shortly after the new association got under way, it began the publication in November, 1910, of THE CRISIS under the editorship of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Mr. Villard was a member of the editorial advisory committee for Volume 1, No. 1 of THE CRISIS

I AM happy, indeed, to contribute to this twenty-fifth anniversary issue of THE CRISIS, since I am one of those who founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the magazine. The Association in itself was a daring venture. Could enough men and women of both races be found to make possible a militant organization which would demand for the Negro every one of his rights under the Constitution, even those guaranteed by the nullified Amendment? I felt certain of it and said that in every town and hamlet of this country there were some two or three souls at least who desired equal justice for all, some whose fathers had died to free the slave, and others in whose veins flowed the blood of Abolitionists. I was not mistaken, but not even I realized how the colored people themselves would respond to the appeal.

We were all aware, of course, that we should be called radical—the epithet "bolshevik" had not been invented then—but what we feared worse than any censure was our being merely ignored as crackbrained visionaries. Curious, isn't it, that when the country is full of zealous defenders of the Constitution, eager to lock up all who would alter it, who dub all men desiring to modernize it as dangerous "reds," we who wanted, and want, nothing but its enforcement, nothing but to uphold it in its relation to the colored people, should have been called *radicals?* Conservers of the Constitution would have been our proper designation.

Some of us soon got our baptism of fire in the abuse and villification which followed the distorted picture by a drunken Hearst reporter of the famous and innocent Cosmopolitan Club dinner at which whites and blacks sat down to commit the heinous crime of eating together to discuss the relationship of the races in New York City. That is now a pleasant memory when one considers that meals jointly partaken of by Negroes and whites now occur in the leading hotels, and no one is in the least worried by them, least of all the New York *Times,* which then so eagerly joined in the hue and cry The very violence of the storm, so soon after the founding of THE CRISIS, brought the assurance that we had laid hold of an issue which had within it the power to rouse antagonism and the resultant inevitable discussion of the issues involved. It made us all the more rejoice that we had created THE CRISIS to appeal to the conscience of the American people, precisely as had the Abolitionists, and beyond that we were then satisfied that we could create an organization which would ceaselessly work for the rights of the colored people and be their public defender, their public protector and public champion. At the outset we knew that whatever our organization developed into, we needed not only an organ but a fearless editor, and so we chose W. E. B. DuBois to edit it.

This is not the time or place critically to assay the worth of Dr. DuBois' leadership and editorship of THE CRISIS. We are still too close to it. But I for one want to express on this anniversary my admiration for the high quality of the magazine which he produced. Nothing like it had up to that time appeared under the editorship of a Negro. He raised a standard on high around which all right-minded people could rally. It has had various imitators since, but the value of the pages of THE CRISIS, especially in those early days, as the recorder of the work of the N.A.A.C.P., and of the battles and advances of the American Negro, cannot be over-estimated, and even today sets it apart by itself. Its bound volumes will be of tremendous value to the historian of this period as long as its pages hold together. Beyond question other magazines will in time arise whose program may seem more appealing—perhaps more radical—but its past is secure, and no future monthly or weekly will ever produce a more pungent paragrapher than Dr. DuBois. No such publication will ever have an editor keener to reveal the shams, hypocrisies, utter stupidity and the crimes of the white man's treatment of the Negro in the country that calls itself the most enlightened in the world.

The past is secure, and no one can take this satisfaction away from us. To have had even my small share in starting it is something that I wish my posterity always to credit me with when they stop to sum up my good deeds and my failures.

For 1936

Beginning early in the year, THE CRISIS will carry a series of articles on the political situation and the Negro.

•

One of the first of those articles will be a discussion by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party in America.

•

Another will be a criticism of the New Deal as it has affected Negroes, entitled (enthusiastically) "Twelve Millions Dissenting."

•

Does 1936 hold the same empty promises for Negroes as past election years? Has the New Deal helped or hurt them? Will they support Roosevelt? Will they return to the G.O.P.? Are they really more radical than ever? Has Communism made any real gains among them? Have they read correctly the signs of Hitler and Mussolini and what do they think about Fascism?

•

The most pertinent and authoritative discussions of these questions will appear in THE CRISIS during 1936. Subscribe now, so you won't miss an issue. Fifteen cents a copy; $1.50 a year.

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Prevention of Children's Handicaps

By Ione Vesta Peak

MOST people regard childhood as the happiest period of life. When we grow up, we look back upon the happy days we have spent in childhood at play, at home, and at school. How we all wish we could be children again! How we envy the neighborhood children as they pass on their way to school!

But we forget the unhappy part of childhood, the difficulties that most children must encounter in the process of growing up. We forget the stomach aches, the heartaches, the fears, and misunderstandings, which are common to childhood . . . the tedious hours our parents have spent watching over our sick bodies, nursing us for measles, croup, mumps, chickenpox, scarlet fever. We all like to think of happy, healthy school children; but for the sake of our children we must consider these serious aspects of childhood. It is our duty as adults to give the children as great an opportunity, as within our means, to enjoy childhood.

This fall thousands of children have reentered school, and thousands have entered for their first time. Of all these children there are hundreds who have entered handicapped by physical or mental maladjustments; while many who have entered with no such maladjustments will before school closes become handicapped through one of the ways that menace the welfare of children: accident, disease, malnutrition. Throughout this school year, if past years are an indication, a large number of these handicaps will go unattended for various reasons, the chief of which is poverty. Hundreds of children will

Miss Peak has specialized in public health and hygiene and as a teacher in the public schools, has devoted attention to child health

be born this year with physical and mental handicaps only some of which will be corrected during the pre-school period, and a number of pre-school children are needing the skillful attention of doctors and specialists.

These facts constitute a grim reality of which, if we are to have happy, healthy children we must become cognizant. There is real work ahead this year and other years for organizations in fostering the welfare of school children. The fight of the scientist against ill health and disease is one in which we must all enlist for the salvation of the human race.

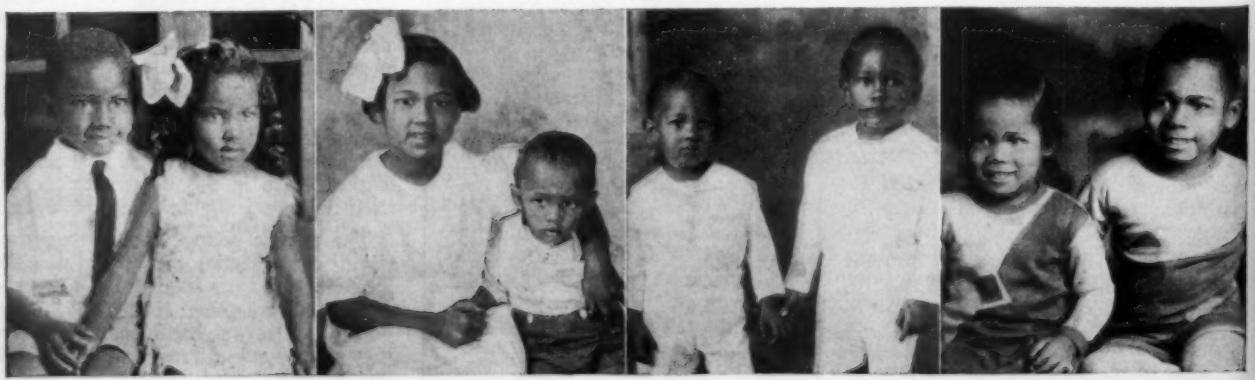
What are these handicaps of which I speak? They are too numerous to list in so short a space, but here are a few of the major ones we should know.

One of the most tragic situations in the school room is created by children who suffer from definite physical handicaps—poor eyesight, poor hearing, rickets, tonsilar infection, adenoids, decayed teeth. Yet, to the despair of teachers such children are sent into the school room year after year to compete with healthy children. True, in most sections of the country there are clinics and school nurses; but they can only advise parents. And many of the clinics require a small sum of money for treatments. (Such medical treatment requires a great amount of skill and use of expensive medicines and instruments.) But in many instances the parents are too ignorant to realize the danger which threatens their children's opportunities. There are also people who will not take advantage of the opportunities that medical science has provided for public hygiene.

Communicable Diseases

The communicable diseases are another menacing factor in childhood. Yearly the diseases of tuberculosis, diphtheria, smallpox, mumps, scarlet fever, infantile paralysis cause a large portion of child mortality. A recent survey revealed that tuberculosis mortality alone has increased three hundred per cent among colored people during the last two years. The cause of this increase may be partly due to the detection of more cases. It is true that many cases of tuberculosis are shielded from public health authorities. This is only one of the many diseases which dim the horizon of childhood. Common colds, which many regard as harmless often pave the way for such dangerous diseases as influenza, bronchitis, and pneumonia. Colds, in fact, increase the susceptibility of the body to any infection. I must not forget to mention that dread disease, typhoid fever.

Then there are the mental diseases, which in only the past few years have received even a small amount of attention. The habitually "bad boy," the girl who refuses to study, the child who sits smiling all day long, but cannot follow instruction, are children who often receive the brunt of the teacher's criticism, because she does not realize



George H., Jr., and Gwendolyn L. Moreland, Pawnee, Okla. — *Barbara Ann and David Clark Morris, Bayonne, N. J.* — *Cecil and Rupert Casimir, Dominica, B. W. I.* — *Edgar and Orphah Shands, Chicago, Ill.*

George and Lucille Brantley, St. Louis, Mo.

James T. W., Jr., and Alwyn H. Granady, New York, N. Y.

Nancy Ann Rucker, New York, N. Y.

Emmitt and William West, Milledgeville, Ga.

their handicaps. These mental defectives fall into groups ranging from idiocy to high type morons. The extraordinarily precocious child is another story, but often as unhappy and as tragic, as is the story of subnormal children. Genius is thwarted in our public school systems as often as defectives are misunderstood!

Oh, there are all sorts of bugaboos that threaten our children, and they are not spooks or giants, policemen or dark closets with which unthinking adults often threaten children. They are stark, grim realities.

What are we going to do about them? I have mentioned above that parents often either have no means of caring for their children, or they are too ignorant to realize the importance of hygiene. There is yet another group, which consists of these careless adults who, knowing the importance of hygiene, fail to apply this knowledge. To this group belong the fond parents who permit their children to be kissed by admiring friends; who allow other children to play with their own, when they have "just a cold;" who pamper their children with all kinds of improper foods; who will not isolate a member of the family when he is suffering from a contagious disease; who refuse to report cases of contagious diseases to the public health authorities. Not only do such people menace their own children's health; they endanger the lives of others. They are public nuisances. Any measures for the control of disease should include this group. Our only hope is in appealing to the better judgment of such people. If that does not work, we shall have to use more stringent measures.

I do not have a cure for poverty, I do not believe anyone has; but we can do what is within our power to alleviate the suffering that many families will have to face this winter. The problem is one for organizations. We need more clinics for children. We need more adult educational centers. There are many people who would take advantage of such opportunities. This is the time for real crusading for the welfare of our children. Science has already given us enough knowledge to prevent many of the most treacherous diseases.

Preventive Measures Urged

Prevention is much more effective than cure. Smallpox, diphtheria, and typhoid fever can be prevented by vaccination or by toxin-anti-toxin injections. Everyone ought to have these. Doctor John A. Kolmar, Philadelphia medical research worker, recently announced the discovery of an effective vaccine for the prevention of infantile paralysis. We can look forward to other diseases joining this group of preventable diseases; but we have not all taken advantage of these. Teachers, parents, organizations, why not begin a campaign now for the prevention of diseases among school children? And would not the best way be to begin by following these health measures ourselves?

Control of contagious diseases: isolation of cases and detection of carriers; control of insects which carry diseases, flies and mosquitos; clean supply of milk and water; and pure foods—these are the necessary factors in preventing the spread of infection. And most important of all is the strict observance of the rules of health, which, thanks to public education, are being taught in nearly every school in the country. Fresh air,

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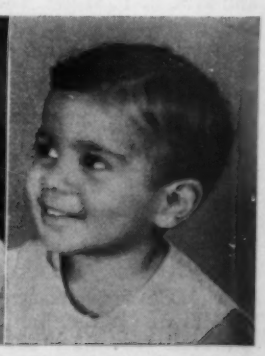
(*Continued on page* 381)

James H. Green, Springfield, Mass.

Wanda Lee Oliver, New Orleans, La.

Natalia J. Carr, Knoxville, Tenn.

Cynthia Rene Collymore, White Plains, N. Y.



Theodore O. Spaulding, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Laugh, Clown, Laugh

By T. F. A. Williams

One Christmas Eve
We went into a church in New Orleans
And heard the choir sing carols, heard the full
Toned organ notes, and once again the winsome
Shepherd story, and the minister's appeal
To rise above our littleness and live
Upon the high plane of our common
Brotherhood; and when the service ended
We withdrew, with reverent thoughts of all men
Everywhere bending in solemn wonderment
Above the crib in which a Baby lay,
Savior alike to all humanity.

We hailed a street car passing up St. Charles,
And, blundering tourists that we were, entered
And sat down near the door, whence we soon
Were ushered forward to our fellow Whites,
As we glanced sheepishly at one another.

The incident was closed, and we regained
Composure, and our minds droned off to nods
And vacancy. A moment thus, and we
Awoke as if by common impulse,
Nudging each other, muttering, with
Gasps of repressed laughter in between—

"That church back there—
Fatherhood of God—
All men brothers.
Here—*'Get back there, nigger!*
Take a back seat—
Only Whites up front!'"

Jesus and "Jim Crow"!
Aspiration and attainment—all of us.
Laugh, clown, laugh—else the tears!

Mississippi Women Meet

With the largest attendance in recent years, the Mississippi State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs convened in Vicksburg in October for three days. Mrs. B. L. Johnson of the Prentiss Institute presided. She was assisted by the following officers: Mrs. L. B. Lawrence, Vicksburg, vice-president; Mrs. R. O. Hubert, Jackson, secretary; and Mrs. L. T. Miller, Yazoo City, chairman executive board. Among the prominent visitors appearing on the program were: George S. Schuyler, noted author and journalist; Mrs. L. W. Alford of McComb City, chairman of Mississippi Association of Women for the Prevention of Lynching; E. P. Booze of Mound Bayou; and Miss F. O. Alexander, president State Teachers Association.

68th Anniversary

The 68th anniversary of the founding of Morgan College, Baltimore, Md., was observed November 22. Dr. John O. Spencer is president, and Dr. John W. Haywood, dean.

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69 Fifth Avenue **NEW YORK, N. Y.**

Editorials

Herndon and the Scottsboro Cases

AS this is being written, Angelo Herndon has surrendered to Georgia prison authorities to begin serving his sentence of from eighteen to twenty years on a chain gang. He is confined to jail for the moment, awaiting action on an application for a writ of habeas corpus filed by his lawyers as he gave himself up.

The trial and conviction of Herndon and the review of his conviction by appellate courts is a shameful blot upon justice in this country. Not much was expected of the Georgia courts, but the refusal of the United States Supreme Court to review the case merely upon a technicality is disappointing in the extreme. Here was a man sentenced really to death for organizing a march of white and black hungry people to the Atlanta city hall to ask the city rulers for better administration of relief. THE CRISIS has said before and says again that everyone should do anything and everything calculated to secure a release for young Herndon. But Herndon's predicament serves to emphasize what THE CRISIS and many others have maintained about the famous Scottsboro cases.

Herndon went into his danger zone in Atlanta with fairly full knowledge of the risks he was running. He was a Communist before he went to Atlanta. It is safe to assert that he knew the usual persecutions visited upon Communists.

The Scottsboro defendants had no such knowledge. They never heard of Communists or radicals or liberals or conservatives. They had no political beliefs. Out of a clear sky they found themselves in the worst spot a Negro can find himself in in the South: charged with rape by a white woman.

To the aid of the defendants rushed avowed Communists from the North who saw not only a chance to fight a dramatic case, but to make the welkin ring for Communism. For almost five years the welkin has been ringing. The exploitation of Negroes by the South has been pitilessly exposed to the world. An important legal victory has been won against the lily-white jury system. As far as propaganda is concerned the whole Negro race is far ahead of where it would have been had the Communists not fought the case in the way they did.

But what about the Scottsboro youths? They stand today in precisely the same danger in which they stood on March 25, 1931 when they were rounded up off a freight train at Paint Rock, Ala. In fact, many people believe at least one or two of them stand in greater danger than before because of the political beliefs of their defenders.

The point which THE CRISIS and many persons have made from the very beginning is that these helpless boys did not ask to be made martyrs for the sake of the cause of Communism, or for the sake of the Negro race, or for the sake of anything. *They want to be free!* They have never declared like brave Angelo Herndon: "You can kill me, but you can't kill the working class." *They want out.*

It is not a question of whether the Communists have done a good job in exposing and fighting the evils under which Negroes live. They have. The question is: did they have the right to use the lives of nine youths, who, unlike Angelo Herndon, did not know what it was all about, to make a propaganda battle in behalf of the Negro race or the theories of Communism? THE CRISIS does not believe they had that right. The lives and freedom of those boys are more precious to them than the future of the Negro race. It is all right for us to talk about sacrificing and dying for the race, but the choice should be up to each man.

Now that the Supreme Court decision on the jury issue is being obeyed (to the letter if not the spirit) by the South the question arises as to what can now be done to save the defendants. THE CRISIS believes that with the Constitution being obeyed on the jury question, there is now nothing to prevent the South from trying and convicting the defendants *on the ground of the politics of their friends* rather than upon the facts in the case.

Thus is posed the momentous question for the groups now defending the youths, the same question which precipitated the bitter fight between the N.A.A.C.P. and the I.L.D. in 1931: Shall we fight to free the defendants or shall we use the defendants as pawns in a battle over social and political theories?

Reason for Lynchings

NEWS dispatches telling of the assassination of Senator Huey Long stated that Governor O. K. Allen rushed into the corridor at the sound of the shots, demanding a gun "because if there is any shooting I want to be in on it." As long as we have governors who believe in settling matters by gun play there is little wonder that efforts against lynching and mob violence are met with indifference or mere perfunctory attention in some of the state houses of the nation. THE CRISIS thanks the New York *Daily News* for correcting President Roosevelt's telegram to Louisiana. Violence is *not* un-American. It is distinctly American. We hope Negroes and their friends soon will stop declaring lynching is un-American. It is one of the few really and truly American crimes.

Some Hope for Negro Labor

NEWS that holds out promise for hundreds of thousands of unorganized Negro workers comes out of the American Federation of Labor. The Committee for Industrial Organization has been formed by representatives of A. F. of L. unions who believe in industrial unionism as against the craft structure "to encourage and promote organization of the workers in the mass production and unorganized industries."

Among the members of the committee are good friends of Negro labor: John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers; David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers; and Sidney Hillman, president of the Clothing Workers. Industrial unionism offers hope to Negro labor and the records of these men give assurance that they may be depended upon to see that the Negro worker does not receive the usual doublecross.

Gorilla Man

WE think the gorillas ought to get together and see what they can do for Arthur Brisbane. Brisbane took the gorillas out of innocent travel books and dusty tomes on anthropology and put them on the front and editorial pages of Hearst newspapers. For twenty years he has been shouting (at the highest salary ever paid an editorial shouter) that a gorilla could whip two good prizefighters. This observation never appears in the high-priced Brisbane columns until a contest between a Negro and a white man attracts attention. Is Mr. Brisbane using his $20 words to tell the white folks that even though a Negro may beat one of them occasionally they should console themselves with the thought that there is still someone who can beat a Negro?

Universities

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it provided tuition only, and that the tuition grant could not exceed two hundred and fifty dollars. No provision was made for the difference in travel expense or cost of living between attending the University of Maryland and the out-of-state schools to which Maryland was exiling her Negro citizens.

The N.A.A.C.P. took the position that this scholarship act did not furnish Maryland Negroes any equivalent to an education in the state University of Maryland; that under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment Maryland had no right to exile one class of its citizens on the basis of race while it educated all the remainder of its citizens at home, and that if it did have the right the provisions of the 1935 act were inadequate.

The trial court sustained the N.A.A.C.P. position and ordered Murray admitted to the school of law of the University of Maryland, pending appeal by the university. On November fifth the appeal of the university was argued before the Court of Appeals of Maryland, and up to the time of this writing the court has not announced its decision. If the trial court is sustained, Murray remains in the school of law of the University of Maryland, and a precedent has been established for other Negro students. If the trial court is reversed, the N.A.A.C.P. will ask the United States supreme court to review the case on the ground Murray has been denied the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Even if the Murray case is finally lost in the United States supreme court, the question of the admission of Negroes in the school of law of the University of Maryland is not closed forever. Murray is a student in the day law school. But the university also operates an evening law school for the benefit of students who have to work in the day. The next case which would then be brought would be that of a qualified Negro with a regular day job in Baltimore who wants to keep his job and study law in the University of Maryland at night. Then the Maryland court will be faced with the question whether it is the equal protection of the laws for the state of Maryland to force this Negro to quit his job, leave Baltimore and go out of the state with a tuition scholarship only, when it offers evening law classes to white students.

Greater Demand Now

These points seem so plain and obvious that the question instantly arises how it is that Negroes have suffered the South's policy of excluding them from state universities to go so long without a challenge. One of the reasons is that until recently Negroes have had to fight so hard trying to build up their elementary and secondary schools and colleges that they did not have the energy to try to force the South to give them graduate and professional education. Nor were Negroes graduating from college in sufficient numbers to create any great mass pressure among them for graduate and professional education.

The tide however has turned. On the one hand the number of Negroes in college is constantly increasing. Negro college enrolment jumped from 5,231 in 1922 to 22,609 in 1932. This has brought a demand for graduate and professional education from below. On the other hand, requirements for teaching, higher standards in the trades and professions and keener occupational competition have brought on pressure for graduate and professional education from above.

The first signs of a mass movement are beginning to appear. Since Murray applied to the school of law of the University of Maryland eight Negroes have made application for admission to the University of Missouri, five have applied to the University of Virginia. Inquiries are constantly coming into the N.A.A.C.P. from Negro students in other states as to the conditions under which they may apply for admission to their own state universities.

The answer is that unless there is a constitutional or legislative prohibition on Negro students attending the state university, they have the same right to apply as any other student. If there is such a constitutional or legislative prohibition, then Negroes cannot apply to the state university so long as the state offers them the same courses under equal conditions in a separate school. But it is the contention of the N.A.A.C.P. that no state can by constitutional provision or otherwise exclude Negroes from a state university without furnishing them an equal education in a separate institution. After all the Federal Constitution is supposed to be the supreme law of the land; and its equal protection guaranty in theory protects Negroes from being discriminated against even thru state constitutions.

Four states have attempted to meet the requirements of the equal guaranty of the Federal Constitution by so-called out-of-state scholarship laws: West Virginia, Missouri, Maryland and Oklahoma. Oklahoma is the only state which gives the Negro student his differential in travel expense in going to the out-of-state university. The position of the N.A.A.C.P. with reference to these scholarship laws has already been made clear.

Complete educational equality will not be achieved without opposition. Reactions to these new attempts of Negro students to enter state universities are already setting in. On the part of some Negroes there is agitation for segregated graduate and professional schools in each state. While this may be possible in the field of liberal arts it is wholly impractical in the professions. No southern state today could, or would, erect a separate law school or medical school for its Negro citizens. The cost is entirely out of reach. Even in the field of liberal arts Negro citizens must watch closely to see that southern legislatures in establishing separate graduate departments in Negro state colleges actually increase the appropriations sufficiently for the college to do first-grade graduate work. Equal protection of the laws under the Federal Constitution must be made to mean what it says.

Sharp Opposition

Pressure is being brought to bear on some of the Negro students who have jobs to withdraw their applications or lose their positions. Here is a great field of service open to Negro college fraternities and sororities. They might well allot their scholarship funds to take care of students who make martyrs of themselves in this struggle for graduate and professional education which will benefit the entire race. Some of the fraternity and sorority chapters could support a scholarship on the money they spend for social activities alone.

The white press is threatening that the state legislatures will reduce the appropriations for Negro education. This is largely bluff. If equal protection of the laws will compel the states to give Negroes graduate and professional education, it will compel the states to continue their appropriations for education on the lower levels.

It is not necessary here to attempt to notice and refute all the arguments which many white southerners are making against Negroes being admitted to state universities. Most of the arguments arise out of hysteria and fear. They are not reasons but excuses under which in the last analysis their proponents wish to continue the exploitation and suppression of the Negro.

The truth is that if Negroes attend state universities in the South, nothing ought to happen except that the white South would throw off some of its fetters of prejudice and the whole level of culture and civilization in the state would rise. At the University of Maryland Murray attends his law classes

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From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Roosevelt No Improvement on Wilson and Lincoln

***Afro-American*, Baltimore, Md.**

According to a news item in the *Afro-American*, this week, James Weldon Johnson, professor of literature at Fisk University, was appointed to a high post in the WPA, last week, and then the appointment withdrawn before he could be sworn in.

Similarly William H. Hastie, an attorney of Washington, was almost appointed judge of the United States District Court in the Virgin Islands.

In the case of Dr. Johnson, Mme. Secretary Frances Perkins is set forth as the great obstructionist, and in the case of Mr. Hastie, the objector was Attorney-General Homer S. Cummings.

Our country has a notorious reputation for almost doing things.

There is the case of the Wilson administration which, during the World War, offered a major's commission to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, and nearly appointed him.

Wilson had a still earlier precedent in Abraham Lincoln, in whose administration Frederick Douglass was offered the high post of officer in the Quartermaster's Department.

Roosevelt is no improvement upon Wilson and Lincoln. He, too, is in the class of almost, nearly, well-nigh, not-quite and all-but. He, too, is just short of doing what he knows to be right and just. After all, we haven't made a great deal of progress in the White House in seventy years.

With the same persistence that was used to prevent any interference with slavery before the Civil War, the Supreme Court of the United States seems to aim to stop any improvement in the status of the colored citizen today.

In declaring that an organization in Texas could bar a citizen from participation in a primary election on the ground of his color, as that court did last spring, after having advised the Texas organization how it could be done, in a prior decision, and refusing to take judicial notice that the State had been constantly Democratic since 1876, hence the primary was a virtual election, that court's action was more political than judicial.

And in sending Angelo Herndon back to serve 15 years on a Georgia chain gang, as it did recently, refusing to note that the defendant was acting under the sacred "right of petition," and that cruel and unjust punishments obtain in that section when persons of color are the victims, that august body has licensed the Klu Klux Klan to continue its persecutions without fear.

We venture to suggest that this state of mind on the part of the highest court of the land will prove a weakening of the social structure erected here in the United States at so terrible a price, over so long a time.

John Brown's body lies, and those bodies of other thousands lie moulding in the grave, but his soul and their souls go marching on. Nothing is settled until it is settled right.—Washington, D. C. *Tribune*.

'Tis said that United States loans to Italy amount to about 401 million dollars. No wonder many of our citizens are eager for that country to take possession of Ethiopia, for it is said to have much wealth of all kinds—Cincinnati *Union*.

In this world of vast uncertainties there are three things that do not draw the color line: Intelligence, Ignorance and Death.—Cleveland *Eagle*.

Arthur Brisbane, the well-known New York editor and columnist, thinks our people of this country will find "their sympathy of Ethiopia cooled by the fact that Mussolini is ending slavery as he advances." Mr. Brisbane is only "kidding" himself, as far as "the colored race in America" is concerned when he writes such stuff. Emperor Haile Selassie has been "ending slavery" as rapidly as possible for many months, as he promised the League of Nations. He did not await the coming of "Muss" and his legions to start the good work.—Cleveland *Gazette*.

From its incipiency, more than a half century ago, Tuskegee Institute has had but two principals until the inauguration of the most recent one Monday last. The founder, Booker T. Washington, died in harness, after causing the institution to be among the foremost ones in the country and of international fame. Major R. R. Moton was made his successor. How well he labored is fully known by those who are conversant with the progress of the school. His effort was one of expansion and effective service. To preserve his health he resigned during the year. Dr. F. D. Patterson was named as his successor. He was inaugurated on Monday with ceremonies befitting the occasion. He enjoys the confidence of all who have to do with the well being of Tuskegee. The wish is expressed that his administration will be as effective as those of his predecessors.—Savannah *Tribune*.

The Scottsboro case, which has lain dormant for some months, will be with us again in a few weeks. Thomas E. Knight, Jr., lieutenant-governor of Alabama and special prosecutor, will ask a special grand jury to convene soon to reindict the nine youths who apparently are being railroaded because of their color.

The Jackson county grand jury box now contains the names of Negroes, thanks to the valiant fight of Samuel Leibowitz against exclusion from panels, and the stand of the United States Supreme Court.

Some of us are quick to forget, and a few have been lulled into the belief that the Scottsboro boys are wholly safe or free. Nothing could be more untrue, for Alabama's lust for the blood of the boys has prompted white officials and laymen to lay the groundwork for a new court battle which they hope they will win, and that without fear of reversal by our highest tribunal.— New York *Amsterdam News*.

The latest project injected into the minds of Negro business men throughout the state is the organization of the Golden Chain Stores, Inc. That such a venture is needed is easily recognized. The plan has been made clearly understandable, and should be sold to Louisiana Negroes without much effort on the part of the promoters. Facts presented as to the population and the amount of money spent daily by Negroes for food and personal effects are irrefutable arguments as to the possible success of the idea, and are all that is needed to convince the most skeptical of the soundness of the undertaking.—Louisiana *Weekly*.

Earl Browder Replies

YOUR October issue carried, as a special article, "An Open Letter to Earl Browder," by Mr. George Padmore. Allow me to thank you for your letter agreeing to publish a reply in your December issue. This reply is an unpleasant duty, for I would much prefer to write a constructive article upon how we might be working jointly to establish Negro rights and to defend Ethiopia.

First of all, may I inquire why Mr. Padmore's letter was held for 18 months, and only published now? Was it because your journal was also publishing the editorial, "Soviet Russia Aids Italy," and were afraid that this attack needed reinforcement from some self-styled "Communist" source? Or did you need to slander the Soviet Union in order to back up Padmore's "Open Letter?"

Now for Mr. Padmore's points: Padmore, when a member of the C.P.U.S.A., accepted an appointment as secretary to the Negro Trade Union Committee, but later turned against its policies. When, as a result, he was removed, he declared this was a "liquidation" of the Committee. This is clearly a case of "delusion of grandeur," for it was only Padmore who was "liquidated." The Committee has continued its work, and more fruitfully than under Padmore's administration. Its organ, the *Negro Worker*, is still being published. THE CRISIS surely receives it regularly.

The central issue upon which Mr. Padmore parted company with the Communists, was his acceptance of the Japanese Imperialist propaganda that the Mikado is the guardian of the "darker races," that his conquest of Korea, Formosa, Manchuria, and North China (all "darker races") are "for their own good," and that the road to liberation of the Negroes, lies through race war of these "darker races" against the whites. This policy is tenable only from the viewpoint of the landowners the bourgeoisie of the "darker races," but not from the viewpoint of the interests of the masses, the workers, farmers, and other toilers. Our explanation of this, to those whom Padmore was trying to lead into the same swamp, is what he describes as "slanders and lies," but he carefully avoids this central issue. In his "Open Letter" he hides his political opinions, while himself slandering all those who had made him important enough to be able to write his letter at all. Mr. Padmore even refused to discuss these questions with the Negro Trade Union Committee, yet he now has the effrontery to talk about being denied "his day in court. He tries to make his removal a question of "white against Negro," but hides the fact that he was *appointed and removed* by Negro comrades. His predecessor as Secretary of the Trade Union Committee was James W. Ford, who later was Communist candidate for vice-president of the United States, and is now one of the most prominent leaders of the C.P.U.S.A. His successor was Otto Huiswood, long known in the United States and for the last few years working in Europe. These, with other members of the Committee, such as Harry Haywood, now in Chicago, and Wm. L. Patterson, secretary of the International Labor Defense for some years until illness forced his retirement for a while from active work, were the men who condemned and removed Padmore from his position.

Mr. Padmore resisted his removal. When he failed, and began to publicly attack his former associates, many seamen, who had been previously helping him smuggle "The Negro Worker" into Africa, suddenly and unaccountably fell into the hands of the police. I have no means of knowing if Mr. Padmore was conscious of the consequences of his acts, but there is not the slightest doubt that this was caused, if not by Padmore directly, then by his new associates to whom he made available his knowledge.

Mr. Padmore threatens "to take legal action" to defend himself. His letter was written 18 months ago, but he has not followed up his threat. Instead he has remained in France, with his new found friends, firing his guns from the safe fortress of the Parisian cafes. His letter would never have merited an answer, except that for some unexplained reason, you dug it out of your files as a weapon to attack the Soviet Union and the Communists at the moment when we are exerting all energies to build a mass movement in defense of Ethiopia against a bestial fascist assault.

Would it not be better if, instead of attacking us, you would combine forces with us in fighting for Negro rights, for Angelo Herndon and the Scottsboro boys, and for the defense of Ethiopia? We would welcome co-operation with you for these things, in place of having to answer your attacks, which is indeed an unpleasant duty.

EARL BROWDER

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Ethiopia

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boring 2,000 refugees from India who had escaped from Indian prisons, where they had been placed by the British for working for the independence of India!

In spite of the hypocrisy of Great Britain, however, nations will have to find a technique by which to deal with an aggressor nation, and in the present situation, it is essential that fascism, which inevitably leads to war, should be defeated. But a technique which depends on military action is as dangerous as fascism itself. A war to make the world safe for democracy brought at its end a world in which democracy was left dying and fascism arising. A war to end militarism brought more militarism than the world had ever known. And therefore a war to end fascism might be the very means of giving it greater strength.

The prevention of war depends not only on finding non-military techniques of coercion, but also, and primarily, on definite economic adjustments throughout the world. Otherwise, the action of the League in the present situation, and in future crises, will be merely an effort to perpetuate the status quo. The best protection for the Ethiopias and Manchurias of the world would be to take the necessary steps to make these adjustments, while at the same time standing firmly for the complete independence of Ethiopia against any possible imperialist solution.

Universities

(*Continued from page* 370)

without a single unpleasant incident. White students sit on either side of him. He recites like any other student. He minds his business; they mind theirs.

If the South will look at the question calmly it should see that there is no reason why the experience of the school of law of the University of Maryland with Murray could not be duplicated in every state university below the Mason-Dixon line. Negroes want better education so that they may lead fuller lives and become better citizens. They are not interested in settling old grudges but in building a new America of real democracy of opportunity for all.

I Saw . . . . .

By FANIA KRUGER

What is it strikes and tears my heart
Like a beetle caught within a mesh?
I saw a Negro lynched . . . I saw . . .
On crimson ground his bits of flesh . . .

Dock Trouble in New Orleans

By Robert C. Francis

THERE has been so much longshore trouble within the past few years, that thinking people are beginning to wonder just what is the cause of it all. Although the trouble in San Francisco, in 1934, was of national import, it did not affect the colored man directly because there were but few of our group working on the San Francisco waterfront—twenty-five men at the most. In New Orleans, the situation is different. Here Negroes dominate the riverfront and do all types of work, and what is more, they are extremely proficient. In travelling from coast to coast, I have never met a more competent body of men than those who work the boats on the New Orleans riverfront. Although there is a strike, work goes on as usual, with no delay. The reason for this is that 95 per cent of the "regulars" are working.

As I have pointed out in other publications, I believe in organized labor, but we, as a minority group, must suit our actions to the exigencies of the moment. During the San Francisco strike, the only opportunity for the Negro was to ally himself with the International Longshoremen's Association, for the straws showed that the ILA would eventually win out. In New Orleans, the situation is different. The heads of the International Longshoremen's Association here have continually attempted to "trick" the black man. It is because of the efforts of one man, A. E. Harris, that the Negro has continued to be the important factor in longshore work in New Orleans. Mr. Harris, a Negro, in 1923 took a gang of inexperienced men and succeeded in breaking a strike. Since that time, he has been instrumental in keeping the riverfront work within the grasp of the colored man. In fact, it was openly stated, in a public attack, that that "N——— Harris, has Africanized the riverfront." It might be added that he did his job well. Out of approximately 3000 regular men, better than 98 per cent are Negroes.

Two Independents

There are two organizations of Independent Longshoremen: a colored one and a white one, which are working under contracts with the New Orleans Steamship Association and the contracts do not expire until April of next year. These organizations are not on strike. The strike was called on October 1, 1935, by southern officials of the International Longshoremen's Association in an effort to gain control of the port of New Orleans. The independents ignored the call and persist in saying that there is no strike as far as they are concerned. The reason the Negro longshoremen are so persistent and refuse to consider the International Longshoremen's Association is because they say the American Federation of Labor union does not care anything about their welfare and if in control would attempt to give the black man the bad end of the bargain. This feeling is bred of experience, for they have been in the International Longshoremen's Association. More than that, the officers in the present independent organization were all officers in the Negro local of the ILA which went out of existence because that organization attempted, through political means, to curtail the range of the black longshoreman. I have learned through intimate contact with the men who are now working, that most of them are old on the riverfront; very few new men can be found. Of course, hundreds of men have been attracted to the docks in the hope of finding work, but there is nothing for them to do. Those who are being hired have service records ranging from two to forty years. Should the International Longshoremen's Association win the strike, these same men will do the work, because the stevedores for whom they work, will hire them. It is not highly probable that such will come to pass, for public opinion in New Orleans is against the strikers.

The strike called by the International Longshoremen's Association in New Orleans is really for the purpose of breaking up the strong independent white and colored unions who dominate the riverfront, according to this writer

Some Violence

It is interesting to note that many of the men working feel that the demands of the International Longshoremen's Association for an increase of from 75 cents to 85 cents per hour and the bettering of working conditions are fair requests. Yet they do not trust those in charge of the strike and they are afraid that if they do gain control, it will not be long before the position of the Negro is reversed. And so they continue to work, honorably abiding by their agreement and hoping for the strike to end. They would rather bear those ills they have than to accept others which may be worse. There is plenty of trouble down by the wharves but there is no such degree of violence and bloodshed as the papers depict. A few men have been killed and some injured, but there is no war, as some writers would indicate.

Both sides have been guilty of violence. The police, however, have the situation well in hand. Those working are taken to and from their jobs in trucks and tugs under police protection. Pickets are not permitted to go within two or three blocks of the warehouses. Since the beginning of the strike, more than sixty vessels have left New Orleans on time. Since the strike has spread to other Gulf Ports more business has been routed through New Orleans because it has remained open. It is quite possible that this increase in trade will be permanent. If so, this reaction will redound to the economic advantage of hundreds of Negro longshoremen. In the meantime, those who know, expect the strike to fall to pieces —"All at once and nothing first—Just as bubbles do when they burst."

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Scottsboro

By Myrtle M. Goodlow

If mercy and truth could meet,
Upon the Judgment seat,
Innocent blood would not be shed
Nor freedom be denied,
For truth would then be verified;
A mighty wrong be rectified;
The bitter cup they too, have shared
And though their lives are spared,
True justice shall not be
Till they have gained their liberty.

World wide pleas were all in vain,
For men so steeped in sin and shame
Know not truth nor mercy's name.
But man's cruel judgments we do not fear
For their day of retribution is near,
For the Lord is a God of knowledge
And we have his solemn pledge;
They that cause men's hearts to bleed,
Shall be repaid for each evil deed.
And the word of God is Law indeed.

Fugitive

By Leslie Savage

Like a runaway slave I have fled
Hunted through swamps of fear,
Leaving a cruel and arrogant world,
Crouching when hounds draw near.

I will cease to hide in the tangled scrub
With its vines like a choking rope,
Even yet I will prove to the baying pack
That courage lives longer than hope.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Baltimore Campaign Nets $2,314 in Memberships

With an unprecedented enthusiasm the citizens of Baltimore went into a membership drive of the local branch from October 1 to October 10, and came out with two thousand dollars in memberships and with the whole city talking about the N.A.A.C.P.

Plunging in at once to make Baltimore N.A.A.C.P.-conscious, 5,000 placards were used throughout the city. The publicity committee used pictures freely. A reprint of the picture of the Armwood lynching that occurred in Maryland two years ago was printed on some of the placards with the inscription "You Can't Win By Yourself! To Fight Against Lynching—Join the N.A.A.C.P." Other placards featured a picture of a Negro citizen being pushed off the Charles Street "Jim Crow" Bus, with the caption, "To Fight Jim Crow Join the N.A.A.C.P." One of the sore spots in Maryland has been the lack of colored policemen and firemen. Still other placards showed a colored policeman on a street corner in New York City with the slogan "To Get Colored Policemen—Join the N.A.A.C.P." Pictures of the educational fight which is now going on in Maryland were used on other placards. One set showed the University of Maryland with the plea: "To Open Up the University of Maryland to Colored Citizens Join the N.A.A.C.P." Another set showed a small one-room wooden Negro school in a county of Maryland, and beside it, a picture of the large, brick, twelve-room beautiful school for whites in the same county, with the caption "To Get Equal Schools for Colored County Pupils, Join the N.A.A.C.P." In all, there were nine different sets of placards with sets of pictures featuring the needs of Maryland, emphasizing the fact that no one individual can fight against these and win, but only in group action, in joining the N.A.A.C.P. would there be victory.

Splendid co-operation in publicity was secured from the *Afro-American* and the ministers of the city. One of the big educational features of the campaign was the work of a flying squad of soap box orators, speaking at street corner meetings every night to groups of men and women in the thickly populated sections of the city. With the borrowed truck of Paul Ireland and a loud speaker loaned by Irvin Lottier, radio dealer, five young orators, high school students and graduates, under the leadership of Gough McDaniels, held hundreds of people on crowded street corners spell bound while they poured forth their reasons why every citizen should become a member of the N.A.A.C.P. In this effort many people who had never heard of the N.A.A.C.P. were informed. Miss Evelyn Travers was the only woman member of the team. Messrs. Lorenzo Mitchell, Joseph Claiborne, Wilson Brown and John Lake constituted the other members.

Another educational feature was the broadcast planned over station WCAO of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Ralph Matthews, theatrical editor of the *Afro-American*, prepared a script dramatizing the famous Sweet case. Permission for the broadcast was secured from J. Lyons, vice-president of the WCAO company and the case went into rehearsal. Two days before the broadcast, the dramatization of the Sweet case was banned by station officials on the grounds that it would antagonize the Klu Klux Klan of Maryland and thousands of protests would pour in to the station. It was then suggested by these officials that the N.A.A.C.P. cast present a program of spirituals "which you people do so well." This Mr. Matthews and his cast emphatically refused to do. Instead, on October 10, at the Victory mass meeting celebrating the close of the drive, the radio drama was broadcast to the audience from the anteroom of the church through a loud speaker set.

Before the final mass meeting a big N.A.A.C.P. parade was held throughout northwest Baltimore participated in by the First Separate Company of the Maryland National Guard, under the leadership of Captain William Creigler; the Bugle Drum Corps of the Federal Post of the American Legion, Captain Bernard Heiner, director, Captain William Brady, commander; the Knights of Pythias Marching Club, Richard Collins, director; Young People's group under the leadership of John Lake and

Street corner meeting during Baltimore drive: left to right: Miss Juanita E. Jackson, Lorenzo Mitchell, Miss Evelyn Travers, Wilson Brown (partly hidden) and Gough McDaniels

Miss Vivian Young and the marching club of the F.E.W. Harper Temple of Elks, Miss Ida Cummings, Daughter Ruler.

All groups, all classes, all types of people were reached in the membership solicitation. Trades and labor groups, fraternal groups, social, civic and educational organizations, churches, businesses, institutions—all were solicited in this drive.

The total amount collected was $2,314.90. The women's division brought in $1,300.05, receiving the silver loving cup, a gift of a local jeweler, for the team bringing in the highest amount. The men's division brought in $657.75, the youth's division, $241.60 and the special gifts committee, $115.50. The individual workers bringing in the highest amount of memberships personally solicited were Mrs. Sarah F. Diggs, $127.10 and Mrs. Florence Snowden, $67. The leaders of squads of workers bringing in the highest amounts were: Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, $300; Miss Enolia Peltigen, $242.50; Mrs. Julia Jackson, $162.80; George Mitchell, $143.50. In the youth division: Mrs. Geneva Rainey Wood brought in $49 and Miss Vivian Young, $42.

Following the drive, election of branch officers was held with Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson unanimously elected as president; Gough McDaniels, Robert P. McGuinn, Dr. Jesse B. Weaver, Mrs. Julia Jackson, Mrs. Sarah Diggs, Miss Enolia Peltigen, vice-presidents; Mrs. Katrine N. White, secretary; Miss Vivian Young, assistant secretary; George Mitchell, treasurer; the Reverend C. Y. Trigg, chaplain.

Mrs. Jackson, the president, asserts that Baltimore is on tiptoes for the 27th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. in June, 1936 and promises to make it the greatest conference in the history of the N.A.A.C.P.

Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, assisted by Miss Juanita E. Jackson, both of the national office staff, conducted the drive. Carl Murphy, editor of the *Afro-American*, was chairman of the drive committee. Other citizens who composed the initial membership campaign committee were: Thurgood Marshall, legal adviser; the Reverend C. Y. Trigg, president of Baltimore branch; Robert McGuinn, general of men's division; Miss Vivian Young, general of youth's division; Mrs. Augusta Chissell, chairman of committee on special contributions; Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, chairman of committee on awards; Mrs. Jeanette Boyer, chairman of essay contest; Clarence M. Mitchell, chairman of publicity committee; Gough McDaniels, chairman of flying squad of street corner orators; Ralph Matthews, chairman of radio broadcast; Mrs. Katrine N. White, secretary; George Mitchell, treasurer.

250,000 N.A.A.C.P. Seals Placed on Sale

It is Christmas Seal time again for the N.A.A.C.P. This year the association is issuing 250,000 colorful N.A.A.C.P. Christmas seals to aid in raising additional funds for carrying its program forward. The sale comes at a time of the year when people are in the mood to spend and to give. Everybody buys Christmas seals—*why not N.A.A.C.P. Christmas seals?*

This, the twenty-sixth year of the association, has been a great one. The achievements have been many, as in the victory in the University of Maryland case, the furtherance of the anti-lynching bill fight, the many local victories, and the expansion of the program. But these accomplishments have cost heavily. While enthusiasm has been aroused and is high on all sides, at the same time it is ever evident that justice cannot be fought for effectively without funds.

Thus, a real campaign is being made of the Christmas seal sale this year. The seals were designed by Richmond Barthe, young Negro artist-sculptor, two of whose pieces have been purchased by the Whitney Museum of New York City. They are done in the traditional Christmas colors, red and green, and they sell for one cent a piece. They are being widely used by white, as well as colored citizens for sealing packages, gifts, envelopes, and greeting cards during the month of December.

Many college presidents have ordered them for the college and their own personal correspondence during December. Religious institutions, fraternal organizations and business institutions, as insurance companies, banks and undertaking establishments, are using the seals on their December mail.

Each N.A.A.C.P. branch is appointing a committee to have charge of the sale in its community. These committees, composed of energetic, wide-awake, active workers, are covering the entire city. The seals committee chairman whose names have been sent in thus far by the branches and the amount they hope to raise are:

Washington, D. C., Mrs. Laura P. Carson, $100; Indianapolis, Ind., Miss Isabelle Winton Brown, $100; Baltimore, Md., Mrs. Sarah Diggs, $200; Detroit, Mich., Charles Harris, $50; Beaver County, Pa., Miss Jennie Board, $10; Jersey City, N. J., Mrs. Lillian Williams, $10; Bayonne, N. J., Miss Hortense Thomas, $24; Rochester, N. Y., Miss M. Taylor, $10; Albany, Ga., Mrs. Belle Ruth Brown, $10; Kansas City, Mo., Miss Leona B. Hendrix; Oklahoma City, Okla., Mrs. H. A. Berry; Cleveland, O., Mrs. Ruth Carey; Tucson, Ariz., W. A. Perry; Mobile, Ala., Mrs. Emma Freeman; Albany, N. Y., Miss Estelle J. M. Felton, $20; Newark, N. J., Cecil Cox; Bridgeport-Stratford, Conn., Mrs. L. Woods, $10; Allegheny Valley, Pa., Nathan Waters, $16; St. Louis, Mo., R. L. Witherspoon, $20; McKeesport, Pa., Mrs. Fannie Randolf; Adah, Pa., Miss Henrietta Brown, $20; Chester, Pa., Mrs. Lucy Waters; Monrovia, Calif., William W. Robinson, $8; Springfield, Mo., Miss Mildred Kimbrough; Staten Island, N. Y., Mrs. Carrie Johnson; Boley, Okla., Mrs. California Taylor-Turner, $5; Rockaway, N. Y., Mrs. Carrie Burley, $5; Newport, R. I., Mrs. Ana Carson, $50; Mount Vernon, N. Y., Edward Williams; Stamford, Conn., Mrs. Ruth Nicholson, $20; E. St. Louis, Ill., Mrs. Rosa L. Randall; Montgomery, W. Va., Mrs. J. J. Turner.

Also: Statesville, N. C., T. A. Johnson, $6; Duluth, Minn., Mrs. Marie T. Coles, $4; Paris, Kentucky, Miss Catherine W. Scroggins, $10; Springfield, Mass., Robert M. Armfield, $12; Charleston, W. Va., Mrs. Mamie J. Brown, $50; Newton, Kan., Mrs. S. C. Mannon, $6; Topeka, Kan., Miss Jean Jones, $4; Portsmouth, O., Mrs. M. L. Smith, $12; Massillon, O., J. R. Edwards, $4; Jackson, Miss., Mrs. Helen Allen, $20; Pine Bluff, Ark., Dr. D. W. Young, $10; Concord, N. C., Mrs. Carrie Pharr, $2; Richmond, Va., Mrs. Rosa Walton. $20; Ohio Valley, Pa., Frank W. Whitlock, $10; French Lick, Ind., Mrs. G. W. Waddy, $14; Baton Rouge, La., Mrs. Ida Nance Givens, $10.

Also: Springfield, Ill., Mrs. Edith Webb, $16; Titusville, Fla., Mrs. Ida Griffin, $16; Rahway, N. J., Dr. C. T. Hill, $10; Decatur, Ill., Miss Jo Estelle Van Dyke, $5; Galesburg, Ill., C. E. Fletcher, $50; Maysville, Ky., Mrs. M. J. Patton, $5; Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Miss Miriam Magill, $5; St. Louis, Mo., junior branch, Miss Loretta E. Owens, $20; Cambridge, O., the Reverend Edward Knox, $5; Bloomington, Ill., M. J. Henderson, $3; Roanoke, Va., Miss Justine Spencer, $6; Tulsa, Okla., Mrs. T. M. Harris, $20; Brooklyn, N. Y., Walter Lawrence, $5.

A complete list of committee chairmen and amounts which they raise, organizations, college presidents, individuals and institutions purchasing seals, will be published in THE CRISIS. Persons desiring to purchase seals may send for them to the New York office, 69 Fifth avenue, New York, N. Y.

More than seven years ago the idea of raising money for the N.A.A.C.P. through the sale of Christmas seals was originated and suggested to the national office by Mrs. Memphis T. Garrison of Gary, West Virginia and Mrs. Garrison has aided the sale each year, watching her idea bring in much-needed revenue at the end of the year to aid in balancing the association's budget.

• Buy N.A.A.C.P. Christmas Seals •

Illinois State Conference Resolutions Map Campaign

Resolutions adopted at the annual conference of the Illinois branches in Springfield October 12, outlined a vigorous and detailed campaign of activity for the branches of the state on many questions affecting colored people. Condemnation of the practice of bus companies of jim crowing colored passengers was voiced and it was resolved to furnish the Interstate Commerce Commissions with a memorandum of violations and a request for a hearing. Another

resolution condemned the Italian aggression in Ethiopia and the establishment of separate camps for transients by the relief organizations in the state. Vigorous condemnation of Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell's Industrial Commission bill was voiced as well as condemnation of the establishment of separate schools for colored people, especially in rural sections of Illinois. It was voted to ask the Illinois State Federation of Labor to hold hearings throughout the state to receive data on the discrimination against Negro workers. A strong position was taken against federally subsidized housing projects designed exclusively for colored people. Another resolution urged that Illinois's congressmen be asked to pledge themselves to vote against all appropriations for either the Army or the Navy unless the policies of discrimination against Negro applicants for enlistment be abolished. It was resolved to mobilize each branch in the state behind the campaign in the next congress for the passage of an anti-lynching law; and it was decided in view of the discriminatory practices against colored students at the University of Illinois and in the twin university towns of Champaign and Urbana to establish a branch of the N.A.A.C.P. there which could deal with these discriminations on the ground.

Honors

Charles W. Anderson, president of the Louisville, Ky., branch, on November 5 was elected a member of the state legislature from the fifty-eighth legislative district. Mr. Anderson, an attorney, is the first colored member to hold a seat in the Kentucky legislature since reconstruction days.

Dr. Charles M. Reid, former president of the Jamaica, L. I., branch, was one of five Negro physicians appointed to the staff of the new Queens Borough General Hospital of the City of New York. The appointment of these physicians is generally regarded as the result of agitation which has been carried on by many groups including the N.A.A.C.P. for the naming of Negro physicians to the staffs of all hospitals in the City of New York and not confining their appointment to Harlem hospitals.

Branch News

A mass meeting sponsored by the **Indianapolis, Ind.**, branch was held Sunday, October 13 in the Mt. Carmel Baptist Church for prayer and discussion of the Italian-Ethiopian war. Ministers of all churches in the city have been asked to hold similar services in their churches. The Reverend A. W. Womack is president and Mrs. E. C. Brown was sponsor of the meeting.

The regular monthly meeting of the **Savannah, Ga.**, branch was held in the Masonic Temple, Sunday, October 20. At this meeting plans were laid for the annual meeting in November and all members were requested to attend.

The **Boston, Mass.**, branch and the League of Women for Community Service benefited directly from the recital which Roland Hayes gave in Symphony Hall, Sunday, November 10. Miss Harriet Curtis was chairman of the committee for the N.A.A.C.P. Some of those working on the committee were: Mrs. Arthur H. Morse, Mrs. George Winthrop Lee, Mrs. J. Dellinger Barney, the Reverend Alferd V. Bliss of the Congregational House, the Reverend George H. Spencer, Dr. Lewis Hartman, editor of the Zionist Herald and Louis C. Cornish.

Lt. Governor Charles W. Thompson was the principal speaker at a meeting under the auspices of the **Topeka, Kan.**, branch at the Church of God, Tuesday, October 15. He based his message upon his recent travels in Europe.

A meeting of the **Lansing, Mich.**, branch was held Sunday, October 13, at the Collins, A.M.E. Church.

Dr. C. P. McCendon was the principal speaker at the Forum meeting of the **New Rochelle, N. Y.**, branch October 13, at Bethesda Baptist Church. The gathering was the first of the fall season. Mrs. Joseph Bullock, chairman of the Forum committee, was in charge. Leon W. Scott president, announced twenty-three new members were added at this meeting raising the enrolment to more than 150. Other speakers included Walter J. Brown, Dr. Erroll D. Collymore, president of the **White Plains, N. Y.**, branch, and Dr. George W. Thompson of Mount Vernon. Vocal solos were given by Reginald C. Swain and E. T. Armstrong.

The **Logansport, Ind.** branch observed State Tag Day, October 26. Tags were sold by the junior members of the local group under the supervision of Mrs. James Roberts, state chairman of the junior branches and supervisor of the local group.

The recently-enacted Equal Rights Bill was discussed by its author, Hobson R.

• **Buy N.A.A.C.P. Christmas Seals** •

Ohio Valley, Pa., branch workers: standing, left to right: Miss Virginia Hailstock, publicity chairman; Mrs. Mary Johnston, chairman of the social committee who brought in the largest number of memberships; seated: Mrs. Martha Madison, organizer of the branch and chairman of the board; and the Rev. Thomas Wren, treasurer

Reynolds, of Philadephia at the annual fall meeting of the **Pittsburgh, Pa.**, branch in the Center Avenue Y.M.C.A., Sunday, October 13. Mr. Reynolds was introduced by Attorney Homer S. Brown, a member of the legislature from Allegheny County and head of the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. which has more than a thousand members in the county.

The **Akron, O.**, branch sponsored a benefit dance October 18 at the Eagle's Temple. Attorney Emmer Lancaster, president, was chairman of the committee, assisted by Hosea Lindsey, vice-president and Mrs. Margaret Crawford.

The **Bridgeport, Conn.**, branch met October 28 at the East End Tabernacle. The fall membership campaign was launched. The three mayoralty candidates were invited to attend.

Edward P. Jacobs of Decatur, Ill., was elected one of the vice-presidents and Mrs. Marie Gray Baker was elected assistant secretary in the Illinois State Conference of Branches held in Springfield, October 12–13. Irvin C. Mollison of Chicago remains president, Simeon B. Osby, Jr., of Springfield is secretary, and N. J. Henderson of Bloomington treasurer. The 1936 convention will be in Galesburg. Edwin B. Jourdain, only colored member of the board of aldermen of Evanston, was the principal speaker. Mayor John W. Kapp of Springfield gave the welcoming address.

The **Salt Lake City, Utah.**, branch held its October meeting at the Trinity A.M.E. Church, Monday, October 7. Numbers were rendered by the junior chorus of the Calvary Baptist Church. The Reverend S. W. Henderson spoke on "The Negro and the Public Mind Today."

On Monday evening, October 28, the **Galesburg, Ill.**, branch held a public meeting at Washburn hall. A feature of this meeting was the presentation of the charter with the Galesburg branch. The officers of the branch are: Rollie Early, president; Mrs. Florence Harris, vice-president; Herbert Jenkins, treasurer; and C. Eugene Fletcher, publicity representative.

Officials of the **District of Columbia** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. have signed safe-driving pledge cards as their organization came into line in The Star safety drive. The officials are: John C. Bruce, A. S. Pinkett, secretary, and the Reverend Robert W. Brooks, chairman of the association's Education Committee.

The **White Plains, N. Y.**, branch held its first public meeting at the Martine avenue Y.M.C.A., October 10. The officers elected at the last meeting are: Dr. Errold D. Collymore president; Dr. Arthur M. Williams, vice-president; Alvis L. Tinnin treasurer; and Theodore Jay Lee, secretary. Dr. Leon Scott, president of the New Rochelle, N. Y., branch was the guest speaker. Elmer Dean spoke on the aims and purposes of the association. The branch met again on October 29 at the Y.M.C.A. A representative of the Westchester County Committee Against Racial Discrimination spoke.

Dean Pickens was the speaker at the **Bridgeport, Conn.**, branch October 5.

Mrs. Mary Rice Hayes Allen, for many years the president of the **Montclair, N. J.**, branch, died October 10 and was buried October 14. She was born in Harrisonburg, Va., March 2, 1875. She was educated in the public schools there and in 1894 was graduated from Hartshorne College, Richmond, Va. A year later she married Gregory Willis Hayes, president of Virginia Theological Seminary and College. After the death of her husband in 1906 she served as acting president of the college for two years. In 1911 she married William P. Allen of Danville, Va. The family moved to the Montclair address in 1915.

During her residence in Montclair, Mrs. Allen was active in the work of the colored Y. W. C. A., serving as its president for nine years and taking part in all of its activities. She was also a member of the Montclair Interracial Committee.

The **Grand Rapids, Mich.**, branch, through James Edward Jones, has written a letter commending the Grand Rapids *Herald* for its fair treatment of colored people in the news columns and especially for its fair sports news.

The junior branch of the **Morris County, N. J.**, N.A.A.C.P. met with Miss Lois Alexander October 11 with Dr. L. E. Baxter, president of the senior branch as the guest speaker. Five new members joined the junior branch. Mrs. L. W. Graddick entertained the group on October 25 and a Hallowe'en party was held in the Women's Community Club, October 30.

In response to the appeal from the national office for an emergency contribution from the branches, the **Massillon, O.**, branch sent in $31 out of the total balance in its treasury of $50. The Massillon branch is one of the hardest-working and most loyal branches of the association. Its executive committee, like that of many other branches, contains both white and colored people.

The Men's Committee of the **New York, N. Y.**, branch held a smoker October 30 with more than 150 guests. Short talks were made by Vernal Williams, Phillip Watson, the Reverend John W. Robinson, James E. Allen, president of the branch; Walter White, William Pickens, Roy Wilkins and James C. Thomas who acted as master of ceremonies. Charles E. Pennabaker is chairman of the Men's Committee and presented plans for organizing a still stronger men's movement to support the N.A.A.C.P. in Harlem.

The **Jacksonville, Fla.**, brannh conducted a membership drive during November.

Dr. George M. Bell of the M. E. Church gave an illustrated lecture on November 5 to the **Wilkes-Barre, Pa.**, branch.

The **Indianapolis, Ind.**, branch was represented by Mrs. E. C. Brown in a protest meeting against the Italian aggression in Ethiopia held November 1.

Dr. Heber J. Sears spoke on the Italo-Ethiopian conflict before the **Salt Lake City, Utah**, branch November 4.

Miss Juanita E. Jackson, special assistant in the national office, gave the principal address in presenting the charter to the **Stamford, Conn.**, branch November 7.

A. A. Andrews of Canton, O., was elected president of the Ohio State Conference of branches at its meeting in Columbus the week end of November 2–3. Other officers elected were: Dr. W. M. Springer of Cincinnati, Mrs. Cora Jordan White of Columbus, Aaron Mitchell of Newark and Miss L. Pearl Mitchell of Cleveland, vice-presidents; Mrs. Jesse G. Dickinson of Columbus, secretary; Theodore M. Berry of Cincinnati, treasurer; Mrs. Estella R. Davis of Cincinnati, John L. Stevens of Zanesville, Mrs. Lillian Upthegrove of Toledo, Mrs. Hazel Tyndall of Massillon, and H. Stratton Hopson of Columbus, members of the board of directors.

Mrs. Zenobia B. Dorsey was re-elected president of the **Scranton, Pa.**, branch November 4. Other officers elected were: C. C. Price, vice-president; Mrs. Bessie Smith, secretary; William Jenkins, Jr., assistant secretary; Elvira King, treasurer, and the Reverend B. M. McLinn, chaplain. Committee members for the coming year will be announced later.

A movement is under way to organize a **Lynchburg, Va.**, branch of the N.A.A.C.P.

An Armistice Day program was given by the Bee Square Girls club at the meeting of the **Charleston, W. Va.**, branch November 10.

Notice of Nominations

The Committee on Nominations nominates the following persons as National Officers and for membership on the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P.

President: **Mr. J. E. Spingarn, New York**

Chairman of the Board: **Dr. Louis T. Wright, New York**

Treasurer: **Miss Mary White Ovington, New York**

Vice-Presidents:

Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, Washington
Hon. Arthur Capper, Topeka, Kansas
Bishop John A. Gregg, Kansas City, Kansas
Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York
Mr. James Weldon Johnson, New York
Rev. A. Clayton Powell, New York
Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn, New York
Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, New York
Mrs. William English Walling, New York

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

For a Term of One Year:

Rev. William N. DeBerry, Springfield, Mass.
Mrs. Grace Baxter Fenderson, Newark, N. J.

For a Term of Two Years:

Mr. R. D. Evans, Waco, Texas
Mr. Sidney R. Redmond, St. Louis, Mo.

For a Term of Three Years:

Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, New York
Hon. Harry E. Davis, Cleveland
Mr. Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City
Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York
Hon. Ira W. Jayne, Detroit
Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, New York
Mr. L. H. Lightner, Denver
Col. Arthur W. Little, New York
Mr. Isadore Martin, Philadelphia
Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, Cleveland
Rev. Joseph W. Nicholson, Chicago
Mr. T. G. Nutter, Charleston, W. Va.
Mr. J. E. Spingarn, New York
Mr. A. T. Walden, Atlanta

These nominations will be voted on at the Annual Business Meeting of the Association to be held on Monday, January 6. In accordance with the New Plan and Program of the Association, National Officers (president, chairman of the board, treasurer and vice-presidents) hereafter are elected for a term of three (3) years.

Committee on Nominations:

Marion Cuthbert
Roscoe Dunjee
Dr. William Lloyd Imes
Irvin C. Mollison
Arthur B. Spingarn
A. T. Walden
Dr. Louis T. Wright

Official Notice of Business Meeting

The Annual Business Meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be held on Monday, January 6, 1936, at 2:00 p.m., at the offices of the Association, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

At this meeting will be submitted reports of officers. Nominations for members of the board of directors will be voted upon.

Book Reviews

ETHIOPIA: A PAWN IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY by Ernest Work. MacMillan Company, New York. $2.50.

The emergence of National Unity often arouses in a nation a desire to appear before other nations of the world as a great power. The one infallible way to do this, it has been believed, was to extend the "blessings" of the nation in question into some "backward" area. Thus the last half of the nineteenth century saw a veritable scramble among the old imperialistic nations joined now by the newly unified Italy and Germany for African territory. The resulting penetration of the white man into Africa was attended not only by minor clashes of arms and threats of war among the Europeans themselves, but also by the often feeble and always futile attempts of the native Africans to forestall occupation of their territory by the whites. The one exception to this general rule is Ethiopia. In her brave resistance to the advances of the white man, Ethiopia has often been openly insulted and her rulers treated by representatives of European nations with little or none of the respect given to persons in similar positions in even the smallest and weakest nations.

No better treatment has been accorded Ethiopia at the hands of the white historians; it is therefore a pleasure and a relief to read *Ethiopia: A Pawn in European Diplomacy* by Professor Ernest Work of Muskingum College, who, contrary to the usual practice, has produced a sympathetic but fair study of the Ethiopian question. Based upon a first hand study of the country and a careful analysis of the official records and other valuable documents, *Ethiopia*, prepared by a competent scholar, leaves little to be desired in authenticity. That Professor Work was able to produce the type of book he has written after this careful study is a tribute to Ethiopia and her civilization and should serve to show once for all that the Ethiopians are not, as some have called them, "barbarians."

Late entering into the field of imperialism, Italy found that most of the desirable territory in Africa had already been taken by other European countries. There were, however, here and there, a few areas of the "dark continent" still outside the "blessings" of European Civilization and it was upon these that Italy focused her attention. But even in these she found opposition, particularly in regards to Tunis. France, long a powerful imperialistic country, also coveted Tunis and, might being right, took it in 1881, forcing Italy into the arms of Germany. Not to be outdone, Italy soon returned to the task concentrating on Tripoli and Ethiopia. After some thirteen years of diplomatic fencing and of attempting to stir up domestic strife in Ethiopia, Italy awoke to the realization that Menelik II, the great Unifier, had succeeded not only in bringing the Ethiopians together under a common rule but also in building a stong military force. Thus it was that the hard terms pressed upon Menelik in 1896 by Crispi as the price of peace were rejected. The Italian humiliation at Adowa was the result. The pawn had escaped Italy. For the next ten years England, France, and Italy were pulling strings for and splitting hairs over Ethiopia. The Franco-Anglo-Italian Treaty of 1906 recognized in law what had been won on the battle field at Adowa. Ethiopia was to have her independence so far as England, France, and Italy were concerned.

In practice, however, this has meant merely that the old struggle has been continued, though in another form—"peaceful penetration." What Italy could not take by force of arms she has attempted to gain by diplomacy. Forced by her memory of Adowa and her ever increasing population, she has given Ethiopia no rest night or day. The situation came to be so acute between the two countries after the border dispute early in 1935 that Haile Selassie I, Master Maneuverer, appealed to the League of Nations. Thus the question was officially placed before the nations adhering to the League for settlement.

Far from being merely a pawn over which the European powers are wont to contest, it may turn out that Ethiopia and its very perplexing problem may bring a ray of hope and light into a war-weary world. This is her promise. The League is faced with a very difficult problem; the whole machinery for world peace must prove its mettle. In the final analysis, then, it is western civilization that is on trial and it *must not* fail. Both England and France recognize what the ultimate consequences of Italian victory are. *Ethiopia* is brought to a close with this question, "Cannot some way be devised by which the nations of the earth may lend sympathetic aid to these freedom-loving Ethiopians that their own peculiar culture may be advanced to its highest possible state free from constant fear of European interference?" Upon the answer given by the Great Powers acting through the League of Nations to this interesting question will the promise of future peace depend. The answer is awaited with much anxiety and concern by the small nations, minority groups everywhere, and the colored peoples of the world.

DAVID H. BRADFORD
K. S. I. College, Frankfort, Kentucky

ST. PETER RELATES AN INCIDENT by JAMES WELDON JOHNSON 105 pp. VIKING PRESS: NEW YORK $2.00

Finally James Weldon Johnson has acquiesed to the wishes of his many admirers and has had issued his poem, "St. Peter Relates an Incident." Remember, this was the poem published a few years ago for private distribution among the author's friends. The unusual theme of the piece caused a knowledge of it to spread beyond those persons fortunate enough to obtain original copies. It is because of this interest on the part of literary lovers in general that the new volume has been published. Aside from the title poem the book contains a group of selected poems most of which appeared previously in the collection *Fifty Years and Other Poems*, a book now out of print. Thus, in one volume has been made accessible many of the best poems of the author not before available.

The scene of "St. Peter Relates an Incident" is laid in heaven. Worn out by the monotony of an angelic life, the heavenly saints frequently cajoled Peter into telling a story to amuse them. On this particular day Peter was very affable and told the best story ever. It was resurrection morn and Gabriel had blown his trumpet to awaken the dead. While people the world over waited to answer the roll call from the holy book, a decree regarding the unknown soldier was pronounced in America. As a tribute to his sacrifices, a patriotic committee, including D.A.R.'s, Legion men, Klu Kluxers, Veterans of Wars, and the rest were delegated to march to the grave of this unknown hero for the purpose of escorting him to heaven. After aiding in opening the concrete slab over the soldier, the patriots, horrified, dropped their tools when "a nigger" soldier stepped from the grave. Consternation immediately possessed the crowd, and soon everybody ran, deserting the unknown soldier who had to march to heaven alone.

Although developed from an ironic point of view, the narrative nevertheless attains its motivating interest through the humor aroused within the reader at the paradoxical turn resulting from the absurdity and hypocrisy of American customs. Certainly if America thought the unknown soldier a Negro, she would not wait until judgment day but would cause the grave to be evacuated now. Relying on subtility of tone to convey the satiric and humorous strain, the author utilizes just the proper restraint to make most effective the suggested implications. The last section of the work is dominated by a note of poignancy in expressing the mood of the abandoned soldier. Characterizing the spirit of a race, he trudges exultingly along with the same courage that crushes all obstacles. When we see that:

"Tall, black soldier-angel marching alone,
Swinging up the golden street, saluting at the great white throne.
Singing, singing, singing, singing clear and strong.
Singing, singing, singing, till heaven took up the song:
Deep river, my home is over Jordan,
Deep river, I want to cross over into campground,"

we catch not only the poetic beauty of the lines but the spiritual elevation of a mood that lifts the whole of this last section into exquisite, lyrical poetry.

Although the reader's main interest concerns itself with "St. Peter Relates an Incident," the other poems are worthy of careful study. Despite the fact that these verses

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written in the early poetic period of the author's development, do not achieve as high a level of craftsmanship as some of his later poems such as *God's Trombones*, they nevertheless show the versality of Mr. Johnson's range in the interpretation of his material. Readers will also appreciate such well known favorites as "Fifty Years," "O Black and Unknown Bard," "Lift Every Voice and Sing," and "Since You Went Away" brought together in one volume. Of perhaps greater informative value are the prefatory notes on dialect poems, Placido's "Mother, Farewell," and the circumstances under which "Fifty Years" and "Lift Every Voice and Sing" were written.

As a volume *St. Peter Relates an Incident* continues to affirm the opinion that James Weldon Johnson is the most versatile writer of the Negro group in America. More so than any other writer he has made noteworthy contributions in almost every field of literature. Because of the quality of his work, he is not limited to race. Rightfully he is considered a leading American writer.

JAMES O. HOPSON

BLACK MAN'S VERSE by FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS 83 pp. BLACK CAT PRESS: CHICAGO $3.00

About ten years ago the proponents of free verse sought to revolutionize poetic expression through this medium. Despite the fact that the trend introduced much that was good, it was not strong enough to tear down the basic poetic formulas with the result that slowly writers returned to more conservative methods of expression. With the publication of Frank Marshall Davis' *Black Man's Verse* the question of the merit of this mode of expression again comes to mind. For after reading the volume, one is struck by the freshness, vitality, and the ultimate effect of the whole that probably would have been diminished if the author had tinkered with formal structure.

In this his first volume, Mr. Davis has no illusions about his work. He admits that his chief delight has been to experiment with free verse and that his poems have been constructed in this vein mainly to please his own ego. After having had his verse appear in THE CRISIS, *Verse Craft*, *American Poetry Anthology*, and other publications, the young poet now offers a complete volume to readers of whom some have already recognized a strain of sound merit in his work.

As a source of inspiration Mr. Davis draws his material from life. With a surging vitality varying from a note of social protest to an expression of sheer enthusiasm of living, he presents pictures of the masses, mammoth cities crushing people, cabarets, beer gardens, lynchings, death, love, and almost every odd mixture of life. In his lines there appear those qualities strongly representative of the realism of Carl Sandburg, the exoticism and color of Langston Hughes, and the music of Vachel Lindsay. Also after reading the poems from the section, "Ebony Under Granite," one recalls the spirit of frustration and futility as expressed in the epitaphs of Edgar Lee Master's *Spoon River Anthology*.

Notwithstanding his relationship to the mentioned men, the work of this young man is no mere imitative echo of what others have done. Throughout he has stamped his own individuality in lines and frequently his experimental moods have caught the essence of an originality surcharged with a vigour of well rounded expression. Especially effective is his plan of orchestrating several of his poems. Thus in "Lynched," we have a symphonic interlude for twenty-one selected instruments a description of which not only suggests the musical rhythm of the piece but aids in delineating the varying moods of a swiftly moving scene.

Contrasted with the realism of many of the poems is the romantic tenuousness of others. In "Only my Words" the author sings:

"Let me take the little, pale, wan, penny
apiece words, weave them into gay tapestries
for beauty's sake."

Similar lines represent a fusion of color, warmth and beauty characterizing the romantic ideal. Frequently this effect of beauty is obtained through fragments of cryptic lyric songs such as:

"death
is a wedding
nothing more
the individual
and the universal
become one"

Although a majority of the poems veer toward pure impressionism, the author has the aptitude of properly blending his impressionistic ideas to the extent of preventing a monotonous mannerism of expression.

There is no doubt that Mr. Davis' poems possess merit. If they lack the full development expected of a more mature poet, it is probably because his ability has not been given a chance for complete expression. The final deftness of artistry will be expected in future volumes. The only question at present concerns itself with the durability of free verse. Is this young man prostituting his talents in developing an ephemeral form, or will the best free verse of today be handed down to future generations as the poetic heritage of a special era? Only time will tell. At any rate Mr. Davis has given us some good free verse and his results are worth the gamble.

JAMES O. HOPSON

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New Approach to Race Problem in Book

A new book entitled "The Human Side of a People and the Right Name" by Raphael P. Powell is declared by its author and the publishers to be a sensational new approach to the old problem of the races. Mr. Powell declares that he is presenting a new philosophy to the colored peoples of the group. The book has 355 pages and contains 80 illustrations. An advertisement will be found in another column.

LETTERS from READERS

Lucille Went to College

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—Certainly colored people should have full opportunity to get higher education, and to use it vocationally in the best possible way. Equally certainly it would be foolish today for our Charles Carsons to employ our Lucilles in positions that would injure both parties.

What is to be done? In principle the next steps seem plain. Our Lucilles must continue striving to fit themselves for the higher life, culturally and vocationally. As an argument for race opportunity the achievement and the personality of one Mary McLeod Bethune, of one Richard B. Harrison, and even of one humble Lucille whose qualities become known to a few white people, are worth a vast amount of speechmaking and writing.

And what about our Charles Carsons? They should labor tirelessly to educate their white fellows to extend opportunity freely to all. They must have a fine sense of strategy, and must suit their tactics to the time and place. They must go just as fast and as far in their argument and in their example as results justify them in doing, and not a bit faster or farther. Always they must ask themselves, "Will this method get the results we want?" If so, good. If not, the method must not be used, however logical it may seem to be.

If they are timid and dilatory, their Negro fellow-citizens suffer because of their delay. If they are rash, they rouse antagonism where

they should disarm. They must be bold, but not too bold. And they must be prepared for condemnation from both right and left, as communists and as "nigger lovers!"

EDWIN L. CLARKE,
Winter Park, Fla.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—Perhaps I am too easily encouraged, or it may be the case of the drowning reaching for straws, but it seems to me "And so Lucille Went to College" presents an encouraging aspect of a discouraging situation. For Lucille's situation, in which she is accompanied by hundreds of others of her group and other minority groups, is essentially discouraging according to the "success" standards by which we are accustomed to measuring conditions.

The encouraging aspect is that Charles Carson, employer and member of the majority racial group, recognizes to the extent of publicly expressing himself, that such conditions as those by which the Lucilles of the world are victimized are unfair.

All of which, to me, seems to tend toward the conclusion that in the final analysis, the hope of the Negro, and all other minority groups, rests upon the possibility of developing more socially considerate attitudes in the majority group. And the duty of minority groups is to consciously endeavor to demonstrate the best that is in them in terms of socially considerate behavior on their own part.

The time was when one might think of education principally in terms of economic advancement. But even then, as times now prove, to do so was to fall into error. The primary object of education should be to learn to think intelligently and thoroughly: to state exactly the problem from the available evidence and then to seek practicable solutions. . . . and to do this in all the phases of social existence.

Lucille's education, whether or not life offers her no larger opportunities, is a personal and social asset from which some valuable returns must necessarily accrue. Among them is Charles Carson's reaction.

LILLIAN HINES,
Chicago, Ill.

Hearstian Editorial

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—I don't think I've missed an issue of THE CRISIS in ten years—found its literary contributions on par with the best in America, I am thankful for the part it served me in my understanding of Negro life:—my familiarity with its leadership, culture, struggles, issues and personalities.

Although I've found THE CRISIS wanting at decisive moments in meeting the problems it presented—invariably deciding against the best interests to the race; yet, I've been patient. Poetry, sketches, and stories depicting Negro life kept me religiously traveling out of my way to buy a late CRISIS.

However, now the time has come that my loyalty to THE CRISIS must cease.

The vicious and Hearstian editorial "Soviet Russia Aids Italy" together with Padmore's deliberate and sadistic "Open Letter to Earl Browder" in the October issue, is about as far as I'll string along and support the political and editorial reaction of THE CRISIS.

I shall not close this with the customary "best wishes for your success," for the continuance of your success will spell the continuance of Hate, Jim Crow, Oppression, Wars, Segregation and Madness for Humankind.

LOUIS DUBIN,
Los Angeles, Calif.

(EDITOR'S NOTE:—As we stated in the editorial, we do not object to Soviet Russia selling goods to Italy or to any other country because we believe that the business of running a huge government calls for realism rather than romanticism and we believe that realism sits enthroned in the Kremlin. What we objected to and still object to is the idealistic "soft soap" which Soviet Russia expects people to swallow.

With respect to Mr. Padmore, let us state that he has as much right to his opinion as any other person writing to THE CRISIS. We are not running a magazine for the support of any particular political party to the exclusion of others. Nor are we running a magazine for the purpose of exalting one particular form of government. Those kinds of magazines are being published in Mussolini's Italy, Stalin's Soviet Russia and Hitler's Germany.)

Protests Editorial

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—I presume you want to be of help to our brothers in Ethiopia who are being shot and gassed by Mussolini's hordes. But looking through your magazine from cover to cover, I cannot find a word on the subject except your attack on the Soviet Union in your editorial "Soviet Russia Aids Italy."

But the Soviet Union is the one single nation which declared in the League of Nations Council that it would never agree to a settlement of the conflict which violated Ethiopian territorial integrity or national independence. Was this to aid Italy?

You object to the continuance of ordinary trade between the Soviet Union and Italy. Why then, do you not support the Soviet proposals for enforcement of a general embargo against Italy which alone means anything practical in helping Ethiopia in the field of economic sanctions? And why do you demand that the Soviet Union should act alone, in a manner not to help Ethiopia, but only to isolate herself by withdrawing from the collective sanctions against Italy?

You reserve your sharpest "objections" to our American Communists for what you call our "pious flub-dub" in calling for "self-determination for small nations" and to "fight against imperialist war." But the Ambassador of Ethiopia in Geneva told Mr. Wm. N. Jones of the Baltimore *Afro-American* and his delegation, that our activities along this line are a real and welcome help to his country. Can you cite anything being said and done by the N.A.A.C.P. for Ethiopia which can receive the same endorsement? Is it not true, on the contrary, that when told of your attacks upon the Soviet Union, the Ethiopian Ambassador was embarrassed, and said you must be misinformed?

You say "that the mere existence of the proposal" for self-determination of the Black Belt "proves that the idea of separateness is uppermost in the minds of the Red Brain Trust and not the idea of oneness." That is the same logic which proclaims that the right of divorce means the universal destruction of the family, a feudal logic long ago abandoned by all civilized countries in marital questions. Do you really maintain that the Negro people can be kept within the United States *only* by force and *not* by their free choice? And, if that is the situation, do you really support a "oneness" achieved by force applied by the ruling class of the South to the Negro people? That is implied in your words, even if you do not yet realize it. The Communists stand for a "onenes," a unity of white and black, based upon free choice, which means making the "oneness" a unity based on the most universal conception of simple justice, by guaranteeing complete equality (political, economic and social). Can you tell us what is wrong with that? And can you point out any group which, so much as the Communists, has brought white people into a serious effort to help batter down the walls of Jim Crow segregation?

EARL BROWDER
New York, N. Y.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: For articles, editorials, pictures and quotations on Ethiopia in THE CRISIS for 1935, we refer Mr. Browder to the following issues: February, March, April, May, June, August, September and November.

Mr. Browder, usually clear and forceful, falls down like the veriest street corner Communist on the self-determination for the black belt proposal. Overlooked by Communists from Chief Browder down is the essential fact that American Negroes are Americans and have never given anyone the slightest evidence for believing they wish to live elsewhere than in America or continue to develop anything except the usual patterns of American life. This self-determination theory, weakness of all Communists so far as the Negro problem is concerned, is the classic example of the futility of borrowing ideas adaptable to segments of the Russian population and attempting to impose them upon America. The sooner the Communists get rid of the self-determination idea, whether gracefully or ungracefully, the sounder will be their appeal to American Negroes.)

Cancer!

"Thou shall not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day; nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday."

Perhaps you know someone who is dying of cancer. Perhaps you know someone who is threatened with this "terror by night . . . this destruction that wasteth at noonday." If so, you certainly will help fight cancer through the distribution to the public at large of the facts about cancer and its proper treatment.

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Children

(*Continued from page* 367)

sunshine, cleanliness, proper diet, and regular habits of eating and sleeping are by far the most sensible preventive measures.

The problems of physically and mentally handicapped children are far more serious and much harder to solve. Poverty and ignorance lay at the root of these evils, and the solution to either will not be found in a day or a century. But we are gaining ground. We have begun to discover means of curing cases which were once believed to be incurable. We need to awaken to the significance of any effort, no matter how small, that is made in this direction. Education is the only solution to many of our modern ailments. Science will guide us in the right direction toward the discovery and cure of our diseases and handicaps.

I should not think of closing even so brief a discussion on the prevention of children's handicaps without mentioning birth control, an issue which has created so much furore during the last few years. There are yet people who hold up their hands in horror at the mention of birth control. There are those who would brand such measures as "un-Christian." Yet some of these same people sanction the birth of children under circumstances which can create nothing but ill-being and unhappiness. If there is anything in our American social system that is unChristian, it is the American tolerance of, and indifference to its slum districts and poverty-stricken areas from which emerge yearly thousands of infants and children distorted both mentally and physically, fed from the garbage cans of our large cities, and reared in shacks.

Some of you will not share this opinion with me. Yet, as I see it, birth control is by far one of the most effective means of preventing the increase of poverty, in eliminating the tragedies of venereal diseases and criminal delinquency. I look forward to the day when birth control will receive popular recognition.

There is no sight more pleasing to adults than a group of happy, healthy school children. Nor is there anything more tragic than the sight of sick, undernourished children, who must go through life handicapped, because of the folly and carelessness of grownups. And these children are as much a part of society as are their healthy brothers and sisters. Their problems are our problems. It is our duty as adults to give every child the chance for health and happiness. Let us make as our motto for this month, which THE CRISIS has dedicated to children, and every other month in the year: to do all that is within our power to promote the welfare of our children.

Harlem Sanitarium Benefit

A committee of citizens in Harlem is sponsoring on December 12, a monster benefit for the Edgecombe Sanitarium at the Renaissance Casino. The sanitarium is a private institution which has been maintained by a group of Harlem physicians, but which, like hundreds of other hospitals, has experienced acute financial difficulties during the depression.

The Heart Toasts!

By EDWARD DEJOIE BURBRIDGE

Let love be just a shining star,
To guide my steps to where you are,
And life be just a jerky song,
Not too sad and not too long.

Voice

By THEODORE ANTHONY STANFORD

I speak for one who stands alone,
Who standing thus this thing has known:
The arching agony that wears
Away the stone of faith with tears.

I speak for one who standing so
Has watched the seasons come and go,
Has felt the Autumn and the Spring
Burn in his soul a living thing.

I speak for one who, finding joy
Forever mingled with alloy
Of pain, saw in the Well of Life
Dark waters fraught with constant strife.

I speak for one whose feet have trod
A barren waste of alien sod,
Whose only solace—would be rest—
A harlot's arms, her withered breast!

CALENDAR

December

27–30 Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Richmond, Va.
27–30 Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Atlanta, Ga.
27–31 Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity (Conclave), Washington, D. C.
27–31 Kappa Alpha Psi, St. Louis, Mo.
28–31 Alpha Phi Alpha, Nashville, Tenn.
Louisiana State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, Shreveport, La.

Note: THE CRISIS will carry notices in this column FREE every month. Send news of the meeting of your organization to reach our office, 69 Fifth avenue, New York by the first of each month.

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Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of March 3, 1933, of THE CRISIS, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1935.

State of New York } ss.:
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Roy Wilkins, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of THE CRISIS and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—THE CRISIS PUBLISHING CO., INC., 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Editor—Roy Wilkins, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—Roy Wilkins, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Business Manager—Roy Wilkins, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: THE CRISIS Publishing Co., Inc., 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. All stock owned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dr. L. T. Wright, Pres.; Mrs. E. R. Alexander, Treas.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ROY WILKINS,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of September 1935.

[SEAL] FRANK M. TURNER,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1936.)

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